In no part of the field of education are there greater differences of opinion as to matter and method than in that which deals with sex. This is largely due to the fact that up to the present, except on the pathological side, sex to a large extent is scientifically an unexplored country.

The inquiry upon which this study is based was undertaken by the Bureau of Social Hygiene in response to suggestions and requests from a number of responsible organizations. With the advice of a coöperating committee the anonymous questionnaire method was applied to two groups of normal individuals: first, a group of married women; and second, a group of unmarried women, college graduates of at least five years' standing. The resulting book should prove valuable to physicians, educators and parents.

FACTORS IN THE SEX LIFE OF TWENTY-TWO HUNDRED WOMEN

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FACTORS IN THE SEX LIFE OF TWENTY-TWO HUNDRED WOMEN

By

KATHARINE BEMENT DAVIS, PH.D.

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TENTH EDITION

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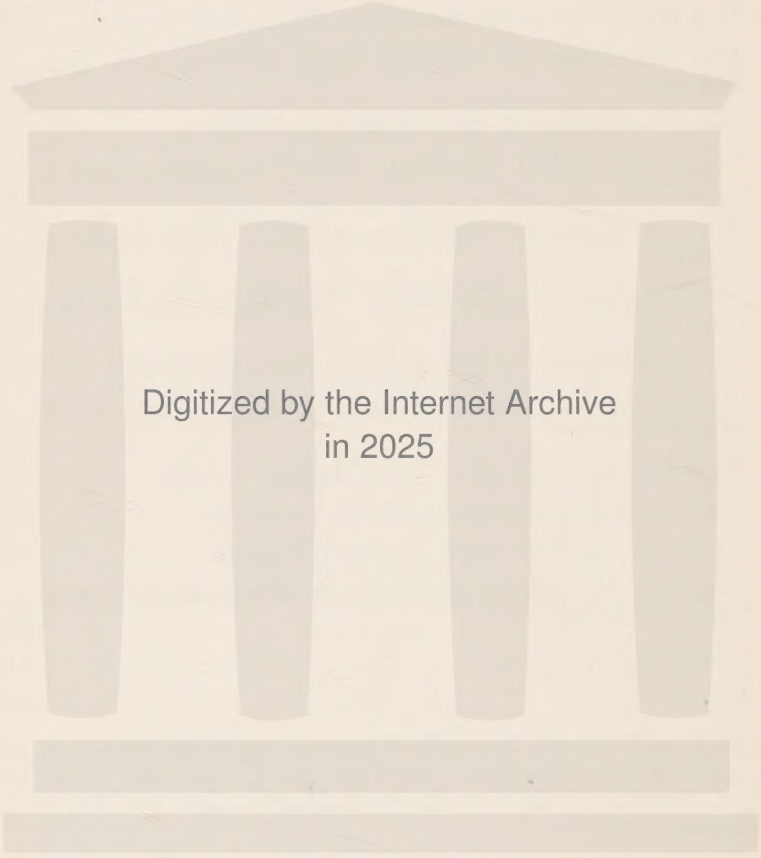
Chapters II, III, IV and Appendix I have appeared as articles in the *Journal of Social Hygiene,* Vol. VIII, No. 2, April, 1922; Vol. IX, No. 1, January, 1923; Vol. IX, No. 3, March, 1923; Vol. XI, No. 2, February, 1925.

Chapters VI and VII have appeared in the *Journal of Mental Hygiene,* Vol. VIII, No. 3, July, 1924, pp. 668-723; Vol. IX, No. 1, January, 1925, pp. 28-59.

Chapters VIII and IX have appeared in the *American Journal of Obstetrics and Gynecology,* St. Louis, Vol. XII, No. 6, December, 1926, p. 824; Vol. XIV, No. 3, September, 1927, p. 345.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ACKNOWLEDGMENT

I WISH publicly to thank the men and women whose co-operation has made this study possible.

First, the group of women who served as an advisory committee. Their help in the original planning of the study was invaluable. The general knowledge by the public of the important positions held by these women gave status to the inquiry, and their names used on our letter-heads were valuable in convincing the women to whom the original communications were sent of the respectability of our study.

Next we are indebted to the editors of the *Journal of Social Hygiene,* the *Journal of Mental Hygiene,* and the *American Journal of Obstetrics and Gynecology* for permission to use articles which appeared in their respective journals as chapters in this book.

Without the advice and approval of Mary Augusta Clark, statistician first of the American Social Hygiene Association, and now of the Department of Publications of the Commonwealth Fund, I should have felt insecure in my statistical treatment of our figures.

The information, advice and kindly criticism of Dr. Robert L. Dickenson, generously given me all through my study, were extremely valuable and much appreciated.

Professor Willystine Goodsell of Teachers College aided materially by securing for me from among her graduate students the last seventeen filled-in questionnaires necessary to make up twelve hundred histories of unmarried women which I desired.

Ruth Topping, Maria E. Kopp, and Ruth Pointer are given credit in the Table of Contents for their respective contributions; the first did more than her one chapter.

To all the members of our staff who gave faithful and cheerful service in the drudgery of working up the data furnished by the

questionnaire into usable form the study owes much, and they have my grateful appreciation.

Finally, my most sincere thanks are due to the nearly twenty-three hundred women who carefully and conscientiously answered the questionnaire. Without them there could not have been any study.

K. B. D.

INTRODUCTION

The Purpose of the Study.—The Coöperating Committee.—The Questionnaire for Married Women; Method of Conducting the Study.—Dr. McCall's Study.—The Questionnaire for Unmarried Women.—The Answers.—The Use of Material.—A Comparison of Consecutive Hundreds.

The Purpose of the Study.—The need for more adequate data as to both the physical and the mental facts of the sex life of the normal individual is generally recognized by psychologists, psychiatrists, and students among medical men, as well as by those whose interests lie in the practical fields of social hygiene.

Among the last mentioned there is a growing belief that however much may be accomplished by the control of disease on the one hand, and the enactment and enforcement of laws repressing vice on the other, the fundamental method to be employed in bringing about more satisfactory adjustments of the sex relationship is that of education.

In no part of the field of education is there greater difference of opinion than in that which deals with sex. This is largely because, except on the pathological side, to a great extent sex is scientifically an unexplored country.

Because of the lack of data as to normal experiences of sex, on which to base educational programs, some years ago the Bureau of Social Hygiene, at the request of other organizations, undertook to make a study of the sex life of normal women.

The Coöperating Committee.—A coöperating committee was formed consisting of the following women: Mrs. Elmer Blair, chairman, Public Health Committee, General Federation of Women's Clubs; Katharine Bement Davis, Ph.D., General Secretary of the Bureau of Social Hygiene and chairman of the committee; Mrs. Martha P. Falconer, American Social Hygiene Association; Mrs. Edith Houghton Hooker, Baltimore; Susan Kingsbury, Ph.D., Carola Woerishoffer, Graduate Department

of Social Economy and Social Research, Bryn Mawr College; Elizabeth S. McCall, M.D., professor of Clinical Psychiatry, Women's Medical College, Philadelphia; Valeria H. Parker, M.D., Hartford, chairman, Social Hygiene Committee, National League of Women Voters; Ellen C. Potter, M.D., Harrisburg, chief, Division of Child Health, State Department of Health; Edith Hale Swift, M.D., Boston, Physician, N. E. Hospital for Women and Children; Jessie Taft, Ph.D., director, Department of Child Study of Seybert Institution, Philadelphia; Helen Thompson Wooley, Ph.D., Psychological Laboratory, Vocation Bureau of Public Schools, Cincinnati.[1]

The committee decided that it would undertake first a study of a group of one thousand married women.

Most of the information we have had in the past concerning the sex life of women came on the one hand from records and studies of women confined either in hospital for the physically or mentally sick or in institutions which care for delinquents of various types, or on the other hand from the case records of private practicing physicians, gynecologists, neurologists, psychiatrists, or others to whom application is made for help in some ill.

The work we were to undertake was to discover conditions among so-called normal women.

We could not consider fine differentiations as to the meaning of "normal." We used the term to mean the woman who was not pathological mentally or physically and who was capable of adjusting herself satisfactorily to her social group.

Although recognizing the limitations of the questionnaire method, it was adopted as that best suited to the purpose in hand.

The Questionnaire for Married Women.—The questionnaire in its final form consisted of eight pages (large letter size) of questions. It was the result of suggestion and criticism, not only from members of the committee, but from a number of scientific men who, from their standing in psychology, psychiatry, or sociology, were best fitted to advise as to content and

[1] The positions mentioned were those held by these women at the time of the formation of the committee.

form. The questionnaire is divided into five sections: A. General; B. Childhood; C. Adolescence up to marriage; D. Marriage; E. For women who have passed the menopause.

Method of Conducting the Study.—A preliminary letter was prepared explaining the purposes of the study and the method of conducting it so that the identity of the women answering might be lost. This letter asking for coöperation was sent to 10,000 women in all parts of the United States. They were selected as follows:

First, 5,000 names and addresses were furnished by a large national organization which has representatives in practically every city and town of any size in the country. The instructions were that the names submitted should be those of normal married women—that is, women of good standing in the community, with no known physical, mental, or moral handicap, of sufficient intelligence and education to understand and answer in writing a rather exhaustive set of questions as to sex experience.

Second, 2,500 names were selected from published lists of membership in various clubs belonging to the General Federation of Women's Clubs. The choice of names was purely arbitrary except that it was made from the great varieties of types and interests represented in this organization, and with a nation-wide distribution.

Third, 2,500 names were taken from the alumnæ registers of women's colleges and coeducational universities, the choice of names being made on a basis of age and geographical distribution.

In each letter was a return card and envelope. The women were asked to indicate on the card whether they would coöperate by filling out the questionnaire or whether they wished to read it before deciding. They signed name and address. The questionnaire therefore was sent only to women requesting it.

From these 10,000 women we received requests for the questionnaires from about one third, and about one third of those receiving them filled them out and returned them, so that we had for our study, 1,073 histories of married women. For the

most part, however, we have used only the first 1,000 received, as the additional 73 cases had no important effect on the results.

Dr. McCall's Study.—In order to test in some degree the relative advantages of the questionnaire method *versus* the personal interview method, Dr. Elizabeth Spencer McCall, then on the staff of the Women's Medical College, Philadelphia, as psychiatrist, was engaged to obtain similar information from a group of married women, using the questionnaire with an interview preceding and one following its filling out. We had hoped to obtain 100 histories in this manner. It proved impracticable and we contented ourselves with 50.

An analysis of this study is presented in Appendix I.

The Questionnaire for Unmarried Women—College Graduates.—In undertaking our second study, that of unmarried women, our decision to confine it to college women who had been out of college at least five years was based on two considerations. First, we found that the percentage of college women who answered in the study of married women was much higher than of those with less formal education; their grasp of our purposes was greater, fewer questions were unanswered, and the answers in general were fuller and more definite.

This was not surprising, as the college woman is trained to express herself on paper.

Second, we decided to send the preliminary letter only to women at least five years out of college, inasmuch as by that time they would have become adjusted economically and socially to their environment and would be more likely to recognize the need of such a study as that proposed than would younger women, and also would have sufficient maturity of experience to give some weight to their opinions on various points connected with sex education.

The questionnaire itself differed from that used with the previous group. In the first place it consisted of twelve pages, two of which were taken up with definitions we had found it advisable to give. In the second place, after Section One, which in both cases aims to give the background of those replying, it was

divided by subject-matter rather than by age periods as in the first questionnaire.

The method of conducting the study was the same as that used with the married women except as to the composition of the list of names to which the preliminary letter was sent.

The list of 10,000 names was prepared from the alumnæ registers of all the leading women's colleges and coeducational universities. The selection was made for the purpose of securing geographical and age distribution.

The response was somewhat greater from this group, as we received 1,163 histories. Later this number was increased to 1,200.

The Answers.—The character of the replies is most interesting. In both groups they are evidently the result of careful and painstaking effort to present truthfully and accurately the personal experiences of the writers. There is no indication in a single instance of any desire to treat the matter lightly.

In the case of the married women one apparent motive which led to the reply is the belief that sex education of the right sort is of the greatest value as a preparation for life. Mothers desire for their children something they themselves have missed. The 369 married women who were teachers before marriage, and the 617 of the unmarried college women in the group employed in education are motivated largely by experiences and needs in connection with their work.

In both groups many of the women, in addition to using the blank pages of the questionnaire itself, have inserted additional sheets in order to give a fuller account of their experiences and an expression of their beliefs. This has meant many thousands of pages of manuscript to be digested and treated.

The Use of Material.—When the answers to the questions had been tabulated, the committee decided that the publication of these straight tables would not be particularly useful and that the wiser plan would be to request the Secretary of the Bureau of Social Hygiene, as rapidly as her time permitted, to make comparative studies, by the use of modern statistical methods, of such subjects as were important and timely, and for which the

material furnished by the answered questionnaires would be the basis.

Accordingly, this has been done. Eight studies have appeared in three different journals [1] and are used as chapters in this volume, with the permission of the various editors.

Each of the studies was undertaken in response to suggestions from individuals or organizations on subjects concerning which information was desired, and were therefore opportunistic as to the order of their appearance.

Several chapters in this volume never have appeared in print.

Tables A, B, and C are inserted because of questions, comments, and criticisms on the studies already published. Some of our critics believe that the whole truth has not been told and that if it were known we would find much larger numbers in the two groups admitting the various erotic practices. On the other hand, others have felt that college women are being slandered and that those who replied are not representative of college women as a whole, but are, to an extent at least, those whose experiences are abnormal. We can only say that, so far as internal evidence goes, the women who reply are sane and sensible and have answered our questions carefully and thoughtfully in the hope of making a contribution in a field where such study is greatly needed. Our own judgment would be that the figures given on the questions relating to eroticism may be taken as a minimum for the group studied. This judgment is further confirmed by the figures given in these tables.

As the envelopes containing the answered questionnaires were received they were put in packages and, when a considerable number were on hand, the envelopes were opened and the questionnaires numbered consecutively. It was thus entirely a matter of date of receipt as to the particular questionnaires making up the consecutive hundreds.

In Table A, Column II, it will be noted that in the fifth 100 the number of college graduates jumps from 43 to 61 and from that to 100 in the sixth 100.

The circumstances which account for this were these. The

[1] Indicated in the Table of Contents.

first 5,000 initial letters sent out were to the list of names provided by a nation-wide organization. The questionnaires themselves were therefore first sent to those in this group who asked for them. After 400 filled-in questionnaires had been received, the number coming in began to slacken. It became evident that we were not to get the 1,000 filled-in questionnaires we desired from this group alone. It was at this point that we sent out the second 5,000 letters—half to women known to be college graduates, half to club women. Again the questionnaires were sent to those desiring them and answers began to come in rapidly from college women. As a result of this there is a significant difference of 49 per cent between the second 500 and the first 500 as to education. This has led us to make the comparisons shown in Table B. This table shows significant differences only at three points—*i.e.*, in Column I, average age, where the difference of 3.5 years younger in the second 500 is large enough to be significant; Column III, where the percentage of those without gainful occupation before marriage is significantly higher in the second 500; and in the columns which show adult homosexual relations and which are significantly higher in the second 500.

Comparing the percentages of homosexual practices of the second 500—that is, the married group with a significantly higher proportion of college women—with the percentages for the unmarried college group as shown in Columns X, XI, and XII in Table C, we find no significant difference (4 per cent) as to H. I.,[1] but a certainly significant difference (6.9 per cent) as to H. II.[2] and consequently total I. E. R.[3] This will be commented upon in the chapters dealing with homosexual experiences.

The interesting point to note, however, is the range of variation in Tables A and C. This is especially true of erotic practices, where there has been the greatest criticism as to possible truthfulness of the replies.

In Table C, as between consecutive hundreds, we note the low-

[1] H. I.=Homosexual feeling without overt practices.
[2] H. II.=Homosexual feeling with overt practices.
[3] I. E. R.=Intense emotional relations with other women.

est variation around the median occurs in Columns VIII, X, and XI, sex intercourse and intense emotional relations with other women, with and without overt practices.

The greatest variation is in Column II—type of educational institution attended.

Thus we find that the greatest variation occurs where no reason for concealment could be expected, whereas the least variation occurs where motive for lack of truthfulness might be expected to be greatest.

In Table A we note greater variations on these points among the married women. But if we compare only the second 500—*i.e.*, the group containing the high per cent of college graduates—the variations around the median are as follows:

	EROTIC PRACTICES			
	Masturbation	Sex intercourse	H. I.	H. II.
Married women—second 500.....	9	4	3	6
Unmarried women (1,200).....	9.5	4	4	4.5

On the whole these comparisons seem to us to confirm our opinion based on the consideration of the papers as a whole that the answers are as nearly truthful as the writers were able to make them.

We have not been able to find much in the way of statistical studies with which to compare the figures in the tables just discussed.

Reference has already been made to Dr. McCall's study of fifty married women by a combination of questionnaire with personal interview. If the conclusions arrived at in Appendix II are sound, the questionnaire method is likely to give better results on all matters which involve sex practices.

Dr. Gilbert V. Hamilton has just completed a research into marriage in which he examined 100 married men and 100 married women, not always husbands and wives, by a method of his own devising. His report has not been published at the time of this writing. However, he has kindly furnished us with his figures, where he had them, in order to compare them with our consecutive hundreds in Table A.

It will be noted that so far as age at time of study and educa-

tion are concerned his group falls within range of our hundreds. This is true at only one other point—that of homosexual relationships.

In no one of our hundreds do we find so small a proportion of married happiness. This is not strange, however, as Dr. Hamilton's study undertook specifically the problem of marital maladjustment, and his subjects, to a considerable extent at least, were selected on that basis. Therefore, probably it is not surprising to find much larger numbers who have engaged in various erotic practices. An inexplicable difference, unsatisfactory to the advocates of early sex education, lies in the fact that the highly erotic group had a much higher percentage of women who had received sex instruction *from responsible sources* before the age of fourteen years.

The writer of this book is solely responsible for the use made of the material.

It goes without saying that hundreds, yes thousands, of other correlations from the more than 2,200 histories on hand would be possible, and we believe valuable. We are constantly in receipt of suggestions that this or that comparison be worked out. Whether or no any such further use of these histories is made is on the laps of the gods.

There has been no attempt to support or disprove any theories respecting any of the phenomena studied, nor have we formulated any of our own which we think is desirable or safe to advance.

We are content to present the data in as clear a form as possible for the use of others. The difficulty and often the impossibility of securing comparable data lead us to hope that these studies of the sex life of so large a group of intelligent women will furnish a way-mark with which future studies may be compared.

TABLE A. MARRIED WOMEN

DISTRIBUTION BY CONSECUTIVE HUNDREDS OF REPLIES TO VARIOUS QUESTIONS

Consecutive hundreds	I		II		III		IV	V	VI	VII		VIII	IX	X	XI	XII	XIII
	Age		Education		Occupation before marriage		Health before marriage—good or better	Happiness of married life—happy	Sex play before 14 years	Sex instruction in childhood (before 14 years)		Erotic practices					
	Mode	Average	College graduate	Less	Teacher	None				Total	From parents	Masturbation	Sex intercourse before marriage	H. IIc.	H. II.	H. I.	I.E.R.
1– 100	33	38.0	36	64	39	30	63	85	23	38	34	42	8	17	11	8	19
101– 200	31	38.8	44	55	37	33	71	88	19	26	23	27	8	16	16	11	27
201– 300	31–39	38.2	39	61	33	37	77	82	28	31	28	37	12	20	12	7	19
301– 400	36–47	40.8	43	57	35	37	77	86	23	28	24	36	13	14	6	7	13
401– 500	38–39–43	41.4	61	39	39	41	71	85	19	24	21	36	6	14	14	14	28
501– 600	29–30	36.0	100	..	36	47	80	91	31	41	36	41	4	17	26	22	48
601– 700	30	37.4	100	..	39	38	73	89	21	29	26	34	2	15	20	16	36
701– 800	30	38.0	82	18	41	45	73	89	30	20	17	52	4	23	19	21	40
801– 900	28	35.4	94	6	29	51	84	91	21	30	29	41	10	11	14	21	35
901–1000	30–40	37.6	92	8	41	38	72	86	27	21	19	35	4	18	19	22	41
Totals			691	308	369	397	741	872	242	288	257	381	71	165	157	149	306
Range	28–47	35.4–41.4	36–100	6–61	27–41	30–51	62–84	82–91	19–31	20–41	17–36	27–52	2–13	11–23	6–26	7–23	13–48
Difference	19	6	64	55	14	21	22	9	12	21	19	25	11	12	20	16	35
½ difference	9.5	3	32	27.5	7	10.5	11	4.5	6	10.5	9.5	12.5	5.5	6	10	8	17.5
Median	37.5	38.4	68	33.5	34	40.5	73	86.5	25	30.5	26.5	37.5	7.5	17	16	15	30.5
Average	30	38.3	69.1	30.8	36.9	39.7	74.1	87.2	24.2	28.8	25.7	38.1	7.1	16.5	15.7	14.9	30.6
Dr. Hamilton's 100 women	35	35.2	46	54	....	....	....	45	42	54	45	74	35	....	20	6	26

EXPLANATIONS — *I. E. R.*—Intense emotional relations with women *after* puberty. *H. I.*—I. E. R. only. *H. II.*—I. E. R. with overt practices. *Masturbation*—Personal practice. *Sex intercourse*—Complete. *H. IIc.*—Overt homosexual practices *before* puberty.

TABLE B

COMPARISON OF ANSWERS TO CERTAIN QUESTIONS IN FIRST AND SECOND HALF OF TABLE A

(*i. e.*, 1st, 2nd, 3rd, 4th and 5th hundreds compared with 6th, 7th, 8th, 9th and 10th hundreds)

	I		II		III		IV		V		VI		VII		VIII		IX		X		XI		XII		XIII		XIV		XV	
	Average age at time of reply		College graduates		Teacher before marriage		No occupation before marriage		Health before marriage		Happy in marriage		Sex play before 14 years		Sex instruction before 14 years				Erotic practices											
															Total		From parents		Masturbation		Sex intercourse before marriage		H. IIc.		H. II.		H. I.		Total I. E. R. (H. II.+ H. I.)	
	No.	Ave.	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
First 500	491 [1]	39.5	223	44.6	166	33.2	178	35.6	359	71.8	426	85.2	112	22.4	147	29.4	130	26.0	178	35.6	47	9.4	81	16.2	59	11.8	47	9.4	106	21.2
Second 500	496 [2]	37.0	468	93.6	178	35.6	219	43.8	382	76.4	446	89.2	130	26.0	141	28.2	127	25.4	203	40.6	24	4.8	84	16.8	98	19.6	102	20.4	200	40.0
Differences		−2.5		+49.0		+2.4		+8.2		+4.6		+4.0		+3.6		−1.2		−0.6		+5.0		−4.6		+0.6		+7.8		+11.0		+18.8
Significant		Yes		Yes		No		Yes		No		No		No		No		No		No		No		No		Yes		Yes		Yes

\+ Indicates that higher percentage is in second 500.
− Indicates that higher percentage is in first 500.

[1] Nine failed to give age.
[2] Four failed to give age.

TABLE C. UNMARRIED COLLEGE GRADUATES

DISTRIBUTION BY CONSECUTIVE HUNDREDS OF REPLIES TO VARIOUS QUESTIONS

Consecutive hundreds	I		II	III	IV	V	VI	VII	VIII	IX	X
	Age		Education—woman's college	Occupation—educational work	Present health—good or better	Erotic Practices					
	Mode	Average years				Masturbation	Sex intercourse	H. IIc.	H. II.	H. I.	Total I. E. R.
1– 100	30	40.6	80	46	77	58	14	16	22	28	50
101– 200	44	39.6	84	53	78	59	10	21	30	20	50
201– 300	48	42.7	77	51	72	56	10	30	27	27	54
301– 400	30.46	41.5	61	54	78	53	7	29	26	23	49
401– 500	30	39.2	54	61	74	63	10	36	26	25	51
501– 600	30	34.9	60	55	83	59	11	22	25	25	50
601– 700	30	34.1	65	50	86	61	8	32	23	25	48
701– 800	30	33.7	65	46	79	60	11	27	22	27	49
801– 900	31	33.0	74	36	73	62	15	27	30	26	56
901–1000	29.30	34.6	72	57	69	72	14	35	25	21	46
1001–1100	33	34.6	65	55	75	62	12	21	25	26	51
1101–1200	28	35.5	56	53	79	68	14	34	31	20	51
Totals			813	617	923	733	136	330	312	293	605
Range	28–48	33–42.7	54–84	36–61	69–86	53–72	7–15	16–36	22–31	20–28	46–56
Difference	20	9.7	30	25	17	19	8	20	9	8	10
½ difference	10	4.8	15	12.5	8.5	9.5	4	10	4.5	4	5
Median	38	36.8	69	48.5	77.5	62.5	11	26	26.5	24	51
Average	.....	36.7	67.5	51.4	76.9	61.1	11.3	27.5	26	24.4	50.4

EXPLANATIONS — *I. E. R.*—Intense emotional relations with women after puberty. *H. I.*—I. E. R. only. *H. II.*—I. E. R. with overt practices. *Sex Intercourse*—Complete. *H. IIc.*—Homosexual play prior to puberty.

FACTORS IN THE SEX LIFE OF TWENTY-TWO HUNDRED WOMEN

CHAPTER I

THE BACKGROUND OF THE MARRIED GROUP

Although the answers to every question in the questionnaire have been tabulated, it does not seem of special value to publish the entire number of straight tables.

Section A of the questionnaire is devoted to general questions intending to give us the background of the women who replied. We present here tabulations of the answers to the most important of these questions for the purpose of orienting our readers as to the composition of the group.

Age

The ages of the 1,000 cover a wide range. Three questionnaires were returned by young married women of 21 and one excellent paper came from a woman of 83. The years from 28 to 33, inclusive, show the largest number in any one six-year period, 306, or 31 per cent of those replying, falling within this group. A sufficient number of older women, however, replied to make the group balance from the point of view of age and experience.

Education

Table II shows what formal education the women had received. Six hundred and ninety-one, or 69.2 per cent of those replying, were college or university graduates; 102 had done graduate work or taken advanced degrees. Omitting the 35 who had attended private schools or studied with tutors, only 62 women had less than a high-school education.

Sixty-one of these women have advanced degrees, while 41 others have done graduate work.

TABLE I

AGE

Age	Number	Age	Number
21	3	48	16
22	2	49	16
23	3	50	15
24	8	51	14
25	17	52	11
26	33	53	12
27	30	54	9
28	50	55	11
29	44	56	6
30	68	57	6
31	52	58	9
32	44	59	8
33	48	60	2
34	27	61	4
35	37	62	5
36	30	63	2
37	25	64	2
38	40	65	6
39	40	66	1
40	36	67	2
41	20	68	3
42	35	69	3
43	29	70	1
44	27	74	1
45	24	76	1
46	25	79	1
47	22	83	1

Total	987
Unanswered	13
	1,000

Range, 21–83
Mode, 30
Average, 38.3

Thirty-five years and under, 466 = 47.2 of 987 cases.

TABLE II

EDUCATION

College or university graduate		691
College or university one to three years		66
High or normal school graduate		145
Less than high school graduate		62
One to three years in high school	39	
Graduate grammar school	19	
Less than graduate of grammar school	4	
Private school or tutor		35
Total answers		999
Unanswered		1
Total		1000
Of these—		
Have Ph.D. degree		3
Have A.M. degree		30
Have M.D. degree		26
Graduate of law school		1
"Second degree" unspecified		1
Have done graduate work without degree		41
Total		102

It is obvious that we have here a group of women who as a whole have had educational opportunities above the average.

Health

It was predicted by some of our friends that the women who would reply to our questionnaire were likely to be a neurotic or unhappy group who would find relief in putting their woes on paper. The results do not confirm this prediction as to health. Table III A shows that every woman of the 1,000 was sufficiently interested to answer questions as to health and that 74.1 per cent enjoyed good health, while only 3 per cent considered their health decidedly poor before marriage.

Table III B shows that of the 333 whose health changed after marriage there were 4.5 per cent more cases where it changed for the better than where it changed for the worse.

TABLE III

A. HEALTH BEFORE MARRIAGE

1. Perfect, excellent, fine, exceptionally or very good	324*
2. Good	417*
3. Fair	167*
4. Never strong or robust, delicate	43
5. Poor	29
6. Very poor	1
7. Good as a child or in early adolescence—then poor to marriage	7
8. Poor or delicate as a child, improved up to marriage	12
Total	1000

* Of these three groups 25 say that at times they were "nervous;" 41 say that they suffered more or less at the menstrual period.

B. HEALTH AFTER MARRIAGE

Same as before—	
Excellent	133
Good	425
Fair	84
Delicate	11
Poor	9
Better	189
Worse	144
Unanswered	5
Total	1000

C. HEALTH DURING WIDOWHOOD

Same as in marriage—	
Excellent	12
Good	47
Fair	7
Poor	
Better	6
Worse	17
Unanswered	9
Total	98

Occupation

Sixty per cent of those replying had been gainfully employed before marriage, 38 per cent of them as teachers. The various occupations are shown in Table IV.

TABLE IV

OCCUPATION BEFORE MARRIAGE

Not gainfully employed	397
Gainfully employed outside home	597
Unanswered	6
Total	1000

Advertising	5
Clerical and office work	21
Librarians	9
Newspaper work	7
Nurses	7
Physicians	26
Secretarial work	20
Social work	31
Stenographers	25
Teachers	369
Miscellaneous	77
Total	597

The 77 classed as miscellaneous were engaged in 64 different occupations, not over 4 individuals in any one of them.

Age at Marriage

The ages of both husband and wife at time of marriage are shown in Table V.

Only 9 women married at 40 or over. More women married at 24 than at any other age, while the average age at marriage of the wife is 25.7 years and of the husband 29 years.

No statistics as to age at marriage for the population at large exists. The study which affords the data most comparable to ours is that of Baber and Ross, who found that in a group of

TABLE V

AGE AT MARRIAGE

Age	Wife	Husband	Age	Wife	Husband
15	1	–	42	2	8
16	2	–	43	1	8
17	5	–	44	1	1
18	11	1	45	–	6
19	19	3	46	1	2
20	26	5	47	1	5
21	43	13	48	–	3
22	89	31	49	–	4
23	107	51	50	–	2
24	131	68	51	–	2
25	129	110	52	–	1
26	100	84	53	1	1
27	75	93	54	–	–
28	58	82	55	–	–
29	44	86	56	–	–
30	35	69	57	–	–
31	35	49	58	–	–
32	18	43	59	–	–
33	14	28	60	–	–
34	13	24	61	–	–
35	8	27	62	–	2
36	11	20	73	–	1
37	6	18	Unanswered	2	3
38	6	15			
39	3	8	Total	1000	1000
40	1	13	Mode	24	25
41	1	10	Average	25.7	29.0

1,183 women of the present generation the average age at marriage was 24.57 years.[1]

The difference in the educational make-up of the two groups is probably sufficient to account for our additional 1.2 years. The Baber-Ross group contains only 251, or 21.2 per cent, college-educated women, while our group has 69.1 per cent of college graduates.

Table VI requires no comment.

Of the 922 who answered the question as to gainful occupation

[1] "Changes in the Size of American Families in One Generation." By Ray Erwin Baber, Ph.D., and Edward Alsworth Ross, Ph.D., *University of Wisconsin Studies in the Social Sciences and History,* No. 10, p. 67. Madison, 1924.

after marriage 239, or 25.8 per cent, slightly over one-quarter, were so engaged.

It will be noted from Table VII that the largest number in any one occupation were teachers.

TABLE VI

NUMBER OF TIMES MARRIED

Once	982
Twice	17
Three times*	1
Total	1000

* Counted twice in "period of widowhood."

Widows now	67
Divorced	5
Separated	6
Husband insane	2
Total	80

Ninety-eight cases of widowhood or separation from husband.

In Table VIII we observed that 159 of these, or 66.5 per cent of those employed, worked five years or less, while 138, or 57.7 per cent, worked not over three years.

Table IX gives the number of pregnancies.

Omitting the thirteen who failed to answer and the two whose answers were indefinite, the average number of pregnancies was 2.33. If we omit those who failed to answer and those who were never pregnant, the percentage rises practically to 2.8.

Table X deals with the number of children borne by the women studied. For the 991 who answered the average is only 1.77. Disregarding the infertile women, the average rises to 2.21.

The federal census for 1910 gives the average size of family in the United States as 4.5. This would mean 2.5 children to a family.

In the study by Baber and Ross already referred to, the average number of children born to their 1,183 women was 2.94,

TABLE VII

GAINFUL OCCUPATIONS OUTSIDE THE HOME AFTER MARRIAGE

Occupation	Number
Employed	239
Unemployed	683
Unanswered	78
Total	1000

Teachers	92
Clerical and office work	13
Editorial work	5
Literary work	7
Newspaper work	3
Organists	3
Physicians	24
Red Cross work (paid)	3
Secretarial work	14
Stenographers	6
Social work	14
War work (paid)	3
Miscellaneous	52
Total	239

The 52 classed as miscellaneous were engaged in 39 different occupations, not over two individuals in any one of them.

or, if the infertile families are omitted, the average is 3.48. Here again the longer educational period and consequent higher average age at marriage enter in.[1]

Finally, we present Table XI, which shows that 872 women consider their marriages happy, in 58 cases using an emphasizing adjective. Only 12 women failed to answer this question.

This would seem to dispose of the other half of the criticism that the answers would be likely to come preponderantly from neurotic and unhappy women.

[1] Baber and Ross, *op. cit.*, p. 25.

TABLE VIII

LENGTH OF TIME EMPLOYED OUTSIDE THE HOME AFTER MARRIAGE

Time	Number
Less than one year	56
1 year	29
2 years	27
3 years	26
4 years	8
5 years	13
6 years	7
7 years	6
8 years	5
9 years	3
10 years	4
11 years	3
12 years	2
13 years	1
14 years	2
15 years	2
16 years	1
17 years	2
18 years	1
19 years	2
20 years	1
22 years	1
24 years	1
25 years	1
27 years	3
32 years	2
35 years	1
45 years	1
"Several years"	1
"Occasionally"	4
"Intermittently"	6
"During the war"	2
"Off and on all my life"	1
"Always"	1
Time unspecified	13
Total	239

TABLE IX

NUMBER OF PREGNANCIES

None	163	Nine	2
One	197	Ten	–
Two	234	Eleven	2
Three	173	Twelve	1
Four	114	Thirteen	1
Five	59	Unanswered	15
Six	21		
Seven	12	Total	1000
Eight	6		

Total pregnancies	2258
Average for 1000	2.26
Average for 985	2.29
Average for 822	2.74

TABLE X

NUMBER OF CHILDREN

	Cases	Children
Unanswered	9	—
None	206	—
One	250	250
Two	269	538
Three	151	453
Four	78	312
Five	27	135
Six	5	30
Seven	2	14
Eight	1	8
Nine	1	9
Ten	—	—
Eleven	—	—
Twelve	—	—
Thirteen	1	13
Total	1000	1762

Average for 1000	1.76
Average for 991	1.77
Average for 785	2.21

TABLE XI

HAPPINESS OF MARRIAGE

Very, perfectly, or entirely, happy	58
Happy	814
Fairly, more or less, not altogether, "yes and no," "mixed"	70
Unhappy	46
Unanswered	12
Total	1000

COMPARISON AS TO HAPPINESS IN FIRST AND SUBSEQUENT MARRIAGES

First marriage		Second marriage		Third marriage	
Happy	6	Happy	6		
Unhappy	1	Unhappy	1		
Unhappy	7	Happy	7		
Unhappy	1	Happy	1	Happy	1
Unanswered	1	Unhappy	1		
Unanswered	2	Unanswered	2		

On the whole, these eleven tables bear out our contention that we are studying the histories of a healthy, well-educated, and happy group.

CHAPTER II

THE USE OF CONTRACEPTIVES.—THE FREQUENCY OF INTERCOURSE AS A POSSIBLE FACTOR IN STERILITY

I. *The Use of Contraceptives.*—At the time we began this study there was much discussion and much being written both concerning the desirability of altering the federal law in order to remove contraceptive information from the category of obscene literature, and to secure state legislation that would permit the establishment of clinics in which contraceptive information could be given under legitimate, reputable, medical auspices.

It was claimed that the woman of means could and did secure information from the family physician which the woman less fortunately placed was too poor or too ignorant to obtain.

We were asked by a number of individuals and groups if the material we had secured threw any light on the extent of the use of contraceptive methods. It did, so far as the better-placed woman who answered our questionnaire was concerned. Accordingly, following our policy of opportunism, the first study made was of the use of contraceptives.

Section D of the questionnaire deals with the experiences of married life. Question 19 asks as follows:

(1) Have you at any time, for any reason, been led to use measures for the prevention of pregnancy?

(2) What were your reasons or motives?

(3) What was the source of your information as to the means used?

(4) Did they prove successful?

(5) What is your opinion as to the use of means to render parenthood voluntary instead of accidental?

In Table I we have correlated the answers to points 1, 2, and 5 of this question with formal education.

We note in this table that only 78 women expressed disapproval of the use of any means to prevent conception. Fifteen failed to answer any part of Question 19, and 173 failed to answer Question 19 (5). Seven hundred and thirty-four expressed approval in a general way of voluntary parenthood. Of these a considerable number registered themselves as approving in principle, but made certain qualifying statements. Eleven stated that they believed it justifiable under certain restrictions, but did not mention the restrictions. Fourteen stated that they believed in it in principle, but felt that abstinence was the only justifiable method. Three stated that they approved "when intelligently directed." Seven felt that it was necessary to use such methods, but were undecided as to whether it was right or wrong. Other comments were: "Unpleasant, but a necessary compromise with civilization." "Allowable, but retards spiritual development." "Nature better not be tampered with except in cases of disease likely to be transmitted."

Of the 734 who believed "in principle" in voluntary parenthood, 730 had themselves used contraceptive methods. In connection with the figures presented, possible correlations are of interest. We have chosen for this present report a correlation with the formal education of the women reporting.

Table I shows the number in the various educational groups of those who approved or disapproved the regulation of parenthood, and those who did or did not use contraceptive measures, together with the reasons given for employing them.

The college graduates so greatly exceed in number the other groups that it is probably scarcely fair to draw any conclusions from the relative percentages in the different educational groups.

Question 19 (2) asks "What were your reasons or motives for employing contraceptives?" In a considerable proportion of cases the reasons given were so indefinite as to make them difficult of classification.

TABLE I

REPLIES OF 1,000 WOMEN TO QUESTIONNAIRE, CLASSIFIED BY USE OF CONTRACEPTIVES AND OPINION OF VOLUNTARY PARENTHOOD

D-19 1,000 Cases	Unanswered	Never employed contraceptive methods	Employed contraceptive methods	Using *	Reasons							Approve voluntary parenthood *	Expressed disapproval	Failed to express opinion
					Economic	Health	Both	No children wanted	Time for adjustment	Indefinite or other reasons	Unanswered as to reasons			
University and college graduates (691)	11	160	520	76.48	112	113	75	15	48	157	160	524, or 77%	55	
College undergraduates (66)	..	19	47	71.21	5	15	11	3	5	8	19	46, or 69.69%	3	
High and normal graduates (145)	2	41	102	71.32	25	26	10	4	8	29	41	105, or 73.42%	9	
Less than high school (62)	..	22	40	64.51	10	11	3	3	3	10	22	40, or 64.51%	5	
Private school or tutors (35)	2	12	21	63.63	4	6	1	..	1	9	12	19, or 57.57%	5	
Unanswered (1)	..	1	...	.....	...	...	...	..	..	...	1	....	..	1
Totals (1,000)	15	255	730	74.11	156	171	100	25	65	213	255	734, or 74.51%	78	173

* Percentage of those answering in each group.

Reasons such as those of the 156 who pleaded, "As many children as we could afford," or, "We wanted to be able to give a satisfactory education to our children," are classed as "Economic."

"Health" may include either the health of the husband or the health of the wife (very frequently we were unable to determine which), or in some instances the fact that the children already brought into the world had not been physically fit.

There were 25 who stated that they had no children and wanted none. But among the reasons for wanting none were a certain number that would seem to be temporary in character. The same explanation, for example, was given by women who already had one or more children, but who did not want more at a particular time for a particular reason.

Conditions that would seem to be temporary are as follows: Was not married, 3 (these women had sexual relations previous to marriage). Traveling around and very unsettled, 1. Husband had to go to France, 3. Husband political offender and went to prison, 1. "Lived in the wilderness," 1. Lived with husband's family—complicated home relations, 2.

On the other hand, conditions that were likely to remain permanent were: Had several stepchildren to care for, 2. Epilepsy in family, 1. Insanity in family, 1. Sickness in family, 1. Husband unfaithful, 1. Husband tubercular, 1. Husband not congenial, 1. Husband did not want children, 3. Was nervous and melancholy and did not want to perpetuate temperament, 1. Horror of childbirth (from childhood impressions), 1. "Would not bring children into such a poorly organized society," 1.

In the group of women who already had one or more children, among other reasons for using contraceptives are: The family considered large enough, 70. Wanted children far enough apart to receive proper care, 75. Too old to have more children, 2. Sex relation so valuable in itself it should be freed from fear, 2.

Other explanations were similar to those in the group above, for example: Dread of childbirth after having had one child, 1. Two children already born had been physically defective, 2. "If I had not used such methods would have had a child every

year," 1. Was too selfish to want more than one, 1. Husband intemperate, insane, syphilitic, tubercular, or unfaithful, 9.

It is interesting to note that only two of the entire group listed mention a fear of childbirth.

Table II shows the correlation in the different educational groups, between the use or non-use of contraceptive measures and the average number of pregnancies and children, together with the average age of each group. One case was omitted because of failure to answer as to education, and 15 failed to answer the question as to use.

TABLE II

REPLIES OF 1,000 WOMEN TO QUESTIONNAIRE SHOWING CORRELATION BETWEEN USE OF CONTRACEPTIVES AND NUMBER OF CHILDREN

1000 Cases	Used contraceptive measures			Did not use contraceptive measures		
	Average number of pregnancies	Average number of children	Average age	Average number of pregnancies	Average number of children	Average age
College graduates (680)	2.30	1.84	35.97	1.67	1.37	41.59
College undergraduates (66)	2.61	1.93	37.65	.84	.52	38.21
High and normal graduates (143)	2.75	2.16	40.13	1.24	1.04	36.76
Less than high school (62)	3.1	2.15	38.13	1.77	1.58	40.62
Private and tutors (33)	3.71	2.75	44.43	2.75	2.25	47.81
Total (984)	2.50	1.93	37.01	1.65	1.31	40.77

Unanswered as to use..... 15
Unanswered as to education..... 1

1000

The important point in this table is that the group which used contraceptive measures has a higher average of pregnancies and of children than the group which did not use them. We were interested to discover whether this difference was the result of chance sampling or was a real difference in the group studied. We therefore compared the two groups as to number of pregnancies and percentage of each group and applied the formula[1] used

[1] Using the formula $\frac{\text{difference}}{\sigma \text{ difference}}$ the difference between the means being .851 and the standard deviations of the means being .095 and .069 respectively, the quotient obtained was 7.22, indicating that the chances that a real difference does not exist are about 1 in infinity.

for measuring the probability of existence of a real difference. The result showed that for practical purposes a real difference existed.

The average age of the 730 women who had employed contraceptive measures is 37.01 years, while that of the 255 who had never used them was 40.77 years, or 3.76 years older. Interesting comparisons can be drawn, as for example, the difference between the average ages of college women using and not using these methods is 5.62 years, or nearly two years greater than for the entire group.

Table III shows the number of pregnancies and the percentages in each of the two groups. A casual examination of the percentages is interesting. In the group using contraceptives it will be noted that the percentage rise from 12 per cent of those never having had a conception to practically 25 per cent of those having had two conceptions, after which the number diminishes. On the other hand, in the group of those who have never used contraceptives 29 per cent never had a conception and only 20 per cent had as many as two. Also the number of pregnancies run to 13 in the group using contraceptives, while there is only one case of those who did not use contraceptives who had as many as seven pregnancies. It would therefore appear possible that the woman who did not use contraceptives may not have had the same need for it as did those in the other group.

Question 19 (4) "What was the source of your information as to the means used?" is of interest.

In examining Table IV it must be borne in mind that in a number of instances more than one method was employed.

It will be noted that in 458 cases, or slightly more than half, information was received from direct sources, while in 439 cases knowledge of methods was obtained second hand.

In considering the tables presented it must be remembered that the 1,000 women whose answers to these questions are summarized do not present a fair section of womankind in general. The mere fact alone of the high percentage of college women indicates that it is a special class which is under consideration.

TABLE III

COMPARISON OF NUMBER OF PREGNANCIES OF THE GROUPS USING AND NOT USING CONTRACEPTIVE MEASURES

Number of Pregnancies	Did not use contraceptives		Used contraceptives		Total	
	Number of cases	%	Number of cases	%	Number of cases	%
None	74	29.01	89	12.19	163	16.5
One	59	23.13	138	18.90	197	20.0
Two	52	20.39	182	24.93	234	23.8
Three	39	15.29	134	18.35	173	17.6
Four	19	7.45	95	13.01	114	11.6
Five	8	3.13	51	6.98	59	6.0
Six	3	1.17	18	2.46	21	2.1
Seven	1	.39	11	1.50	12	1.2
Eight	...	...	6	.82	6	.6
Nine	...	...	2	.27	2	.2
Ten	...	...	...	...	...	...
Eleven	...	...	2	.27	2	.2
Twelve	...	...	1	.13	1	.1
Thirteen	...	...	1	.13	1	.1
Total answered	255	100.0	730	100.0	985	100.0
Unanswered	...	.....	...	.....	15	.....
Total	...	.....	...	.....	1000	.....
Average pregnancies	1.65	.....	2.50	.....	2.30	.....

TABLE IV

SOURCES OF INFORMATION AS TO CONTRACEPTIVE MEASURES

Physicians*	370	Nurse*	15
Married women friends	174	Medical studies*	9
Husband	139	"Various"	8
Mother	42	"Drug-store man"	6
Friend of husband	39	The Bible	2
Books*	33	A servant	1
Birth-control circulars*	31	A psychoanalyst	1
"Common knowledge"	27		

* Indicates direct information.

TABLE V

CORRELATION BETWEEN CONTRACEPTIVE INFORMATION AND SEX INTERCOURSE PRIOR TO MARRIAGE

Questionnaire group—1000 cases	Had information prior to marriage		Had no information prior to marriage		Unanswered as to information	Totals	
	433 = 44.1%*		547 = 55.8%*		20	1000	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	No.	%
Had intercourse prior to marriage	50	11.1†	19	3.2‡	2	71	7.1§

* Percentage of total answering—*viz.*, 980.
† Percentage of total having information prior to marriage—*viz.*, 433.
‡ Percentage of total having no information prior to marriage—*viz.*, 547.
§ Percentage of total in group, 1000.

The question, "Does knowledge of contraceptive measures prior to marriage contribute to the incidence of illicit sexual relations?" is of decided importance in relation to the problem of voluntary parenthood. This study provided some data on this question, which is summarized in Table V.

The size of the groups involved, the selective factors present, and the inadequacy of the data make interpretation precarious. Undoubtedly the results should not be interpreted literally, particularly as these particular correlations fail to show the relationship between contraceptive knowledge, sexual precocity, and more general character trends. These latter factors may be as important in determining illicitness as contraceptive knowledge; in fact these may be factors in determining the acquisition of such knowledge.

It will be noted that Table V shows that 71 women had sex intercourse prior to marriage. The number is so small that it is impossible to draw any general deductions, but the following figures may be taken for what they are worth:

Selecting the 16 who had intercourse with more than one person, we find that of these, ten individuals had contraceptive information, 2 say they had none at all, 2 reply "almost nothing," 1 does not answer the question, and 1 answers so indefinitely that she cannot be classified.

TABLE VI

Had intercourse before marriage with *fiance* only	35
Had intercourse before marriage with one person only (not *fiance*)	12
Had intercourse with more than one person	16
Person not specified	8
Total	71

As to the general education of the 16, we find that 6 are college graduates. Of these one has also the M.A. and M.D. degrees and states that she knew all about contraceptive measures. Two had two and three years in college, respectively. Three were high-school graduates, 3 had one or two years in high school, 1 had gone no further than the eighth grammar grade, and 1 had always had private governesses and tutors.

A question has arisen as to the possible relation between information concerning the prevention of pregnancy and the resort to abortion to terminate a pregnancy already begun.

Section D, Question 24, of the questionnaire asks: "Have you ever had artificial abortion performed?" Ninety-three women, or 9.3 per cent of the total group, reply in the affirmative.

Table VII shows that 93 women had had 147 abortions—

TABLE VII

Have had one artificial abortion	63
Have had two artificial abortions	19
Have had three artificial abortions	6
Have had four artificial abortions	2
Have had five artificial abortions	1
Have had seven artificial abortions	1
Have had eight artificial abortions	1
Total	93

In a few cases children were wanted, but after pregnancy began it was found desirable to terminate it on account of health. In all but two cases contraceptive measures have been employed at some time.

In a certain proportion of cases abortions were performed *before* any information had been acquired concerning the pre-

vention of pregnancy. In a larger proportion of cases contraceptive measures had been employed and failed. The same reasons in about the same proportions were given for the resort to abortion as are given for the use of contraceptives—*i.e.*, health, economic need of limiting the family, necessity of self-support by the wife, and in thirteen instances the indulgence in sexual relations before marriage.

Four of these thirteen say they had no knowledge of contraceptives prior to marriage. Nine had information of various kinds and degrees which was used unsuccessfully, making resort to abortion necessary if the situation was to be concealed.

Attention should be called to the fact that if Table V shows a higher percentage of sexual indulgence before marriage among those who possessed contraceptive information as over against those who did not, namely, in the proportion of 11.1 per cent to 3.2 per cent; on the other hand, 88.9 per cent of those having the information were apparently unaffected by it so far as their sex relationships were concerned.

Here again our volume of data is too small to warrant conclusions.

II. *The Frequency of Intercourse as a Possible Factor in Sterility.*—We have shown in the foregoing section that the

TABLE I

Answer	No.	% of those replying
More than once a day	19	2.0
Once a day	71	7.6
Over twice, less than seven times a week	305	31.3
Once or twice a week	391	40.0
One to three times a month	125	12.8
"Often" or "frequently"	22	2.4
"Seldom" or "infrequently"	38	3.9
Total answered	971	100.0
None in early years	8	
Unanswered	21	
Total group	1,000	

average number of pregnancies, and of children as well, was higher in the group that had used contraceptives than in the group that had not, and that the percentage of those who had never been pregnant was more than twice as great in the latter group.

The question was asked of us by a prominent gynecologist as to whether from our data any relationship could be shown between great frequency of intercourse in the early years of married life and sterility.

First, as to frequency of sex intercourse during the early years of married life, we find from Table I the following:

Ninety women, or 9.19 of the 979 replying, reported inter-

TABLE II

COMPARISON OF NUMBER OF PREGNANCIES OF THE GROUPS USING AND NOT USING CONTRACEPTIVE MEASURES

No. of pregnancies	Did not use contraceptives		Used contraceptives		Total	
	No. of cases	%	No. of cases	%	No. of cases	%
None	74	29.0	89	12.2	163	16.5
One	59	23.1	138	18.9	197	20.0
Two	52	20.4	182	24.9	234	23.8
Three	39	15.3	134	18.4	173	17.6
Four	19	7.5	95	13.0	114	11.6
Five	8	3.1	51	7.0	59	6.0
Six	3	1.2	18	2.5	21	2.1
Seven	1	.4	11	1.5	12	1.2
Eight	..	...	6	.8	6	.6
Nine	..	...	2	.3	2	.2
Ten	..	...	..	...	..	...
Eleven	..	...	2	.3	2	.2
Twelve	..	...	1	.1	1	.1
Thirteen	..	...	1	.1	1	.1
Total answered	255	100.0	730	100.0	985	100.0
Average pregnancies	1.65	...	2.50	...	..	...

Unanswered.....15
Total.....1000

course at least once a day, 19 reporting "more frequently than once a day."

For convenience we repeat from the preceding section the table showing number of pregnancies. It will be noted that of the 1,000 women replying, 163, or 16.3 per cent, were never pregnant.

A tabulation of the 90 cases in which intercourse took place daily or oftener shows with reference to number of pregnancies as follows:

TABLE III

No. of pregnancies	Intercourse daily	More than once daily	Total	
			No.	%
None	8	0	8	8.9
One	12	5	17	19.0
Two	13	2	15	16.7
Three	17	4	21	23.3
Four	9	3	12	13.3
Five	6	–	6	6.7
Six	2	1	3	3.3
Seven	2	2	4	4.4
Eight	1	1	2	2.2
Eleven	1	–	1	1.1
Thirteen	—	1	1	1.1
Total	71	19	90	100.0

It will be noted that, while of the entire group replying to the questionnaire 16.3 per cent were never pregnant, of the 90 women who report intercourse at least daily during the early years of marriage, only 8.8 per cent or about half as many proportionately, were never pregnant.

Unfortunately, our questionnaire did not ask for the dating of pregnancies with reference to time of marriage. Present age and age at marriage give the length of married life; number and age of children and total number of pregnancies are given; but the answers do not in all cases show the order—that is where pregnancies not carried through to child birth occur.

In replying to the question as to frequency of intercourse "in early years of marriage" and frequency "after eight or ten years if married so long" there is great diversity in manner of reply. A considerable number who have been married less than eight or ten years give such replies as "The first three months every night and morning; then throughout the first year every night; now after three years of married life twice a week regularly," or "every night at first, sometimes two or three times a night; now, after seven and one-half years of married life, two or three times a week."

The use of contraceptives complicates the situation.

Of our entire 1,000 cases 730 used contraceptives, 255 did not, 15 did not reply. Of the 90 women who had intercourse once a day during the earlier period at least of their marriage, 68 employed contraceptives, 21 did not, 1 did not reply.

Of the entire group, 74.1 per cent employed contraceptives as against 76.4 per cent in the group of 90. The difference is insignificant. Unfortunately, in the great majority of cases, although the women replying give their opinion as to the success of the method of contraceptive employed, they do not in most cases state definitely in just what portion of their married life it was employed.

The only cases in which contraceptives can be eliminated are 5 reporting no pregnancies and no contraceptives during their entire married life, but who had sex intercourse daily during the early period of their married life.

In these cases it is not possible to say what factors other than the daily intercourse entered into the situation or how far that was responsible for sterility, if at all. Four of the 5 women report "excellent health always" and the fifth says "health always good." In 2 cases there was a wide difference of age, the husband being 23 and 28 years older, respectively. In one case the woman reports that her husband was "sexually insane" and unfaithful. In a fourth case the woman who greatly desired children consulted a physician as to possible difficulties, but with no results.

These women were all well educated. Three are college gradu-

ates, 1 had three years at a university, and the fifth was a high-school graduate.

A brief summary of the sex life of these 5 women is appended, as are also the summaries of the sex life of the 3 who were never pregnant but who used contraceptives. The first case in this group of 3 is of no special significance, as the woman has been married only one year. The second case, a woman physician, attributes her freedom from pregnancy to the use of contraceptive methods. The third case, a woman married six years, also attributes her freedom from pregnancy to the use of contraceptives.

Table IV shows the number of pregnancies which took place in the two groups which did and did not use contraceptives and who had intercourse daily. It will be noted that the average number of pregnancies is lower in the group using no contraceptives, which was also the case in the total group of 1,000. But in both groups pregnancies are higher than in the corresponding groups of the entire 1,000.

Tables V and VI deal with the groups which had intercourse daily and more frequently than once a day, respectively.

They are presented to show at a glance the main facts in these cases.

From Table V it will be noted that among 63 cases having daily intercourse, 63.4 per cent became pregnant presumably during this practice. In Table VI we see that among 19 cases having intercourse more than once a day, 11 became pregnant under these circumstances. Putting these two together, we have 82 instances with 51 pregnancies, or 62 per cent fertility.

Furthermore, we note from Table VI [1] that ten women report intercourse kept up daily or at least every other day over a period of many years. Among these we find 7 fertile women who used contraceptives having had from two to eight children; 1 using contraceptives, with a single child; 1 who is one child sterile; and one sterile. In other words, these couples, who belong to the class designated by Pearl [2] as "sexual athletes," do not show

[1] These are cases 1, 7, 8, 9, 11, 14, 15, 16, 17, and 19.

[2] Raymond Pearl, *The Biology of Population Growth,* pp. 186, 194 and 197. New York, Alfred A. Knopf, 1925.

a markedly lessened fertility from their unusual frequency of intercourse.

Table VII is a summary comparing the two groups under consideration with the total group of 1,000.

It will be noted that there is nothing whatever in the material presented to suggest in any way a relationship between marked frequency of intercourse and sterility—quite the contrary. The numbers involved are too small for any statistical certainty, however. It is possible that they show a trend, inasmuch as comparing the entire 1,000 married women with the 90 women who report intercourse daily or oftener during the early years of married life sterility is found to be nearly twice as frequent in the larger group.

It would seem that carefully observed and controlled cases would have to be studied in considerable numbers before it becomes possible to prove a connection between sterility and marked frequency of intercourse.

TABLE IV

INTERCOURSE AT LEAST DAILY IN EARLY PART OF MARRIED LIFE

No. of pregnancies	Did not use contraceptives	Used contraceptives	Unanswered as to contraceptives	Total	% of 89
None	5	3		8	8.8
One	5*	12		17	19.0
Two	2	12	1	15	16.8
Three	3	18		21	23.4
Four	3	10		13	14.6
Five	1	4		5	5.5
Six	1	2		3	3.3
Seven	1	3		4	4.4
Eight	–	2		2	2.2
Eleven	–	1		1	1.0
Thirteen	–	1		1	1.0
Total	21	68	1	90	100.0
Per cent of 89.	23.6	76.4			
Average pregnancies	2.57	3.27			

* One woman does not answer as to number of pregnancies, but has one child aged thirteen. Has been married fourteen years.

TABLE V

SIXTY-THREE CASES WHERE INTERCOURSE TOOK PLACE DAILY DURING EARLY PART OF MARRIED LIFE AND WHERE PREGNANCIES OCCURRED

(÷ indicates practical certainty that pregnancy occurred during period of daily intercourse. ? indicates an uncertainty as to this.)

No. of pregnancies	No. of cases	Age	Length of married life	Use of contraceptives	Abortions	No. of children	Age of eldest	Remarks
One	*12*							
1	÷	25	1 yr.	Yes	No	0	—	Has used contraceptives only after miscarriage and on doctor's advice
2	?	26	4 yrs.	Yes	No	1	5 mos.	
3	?	28	3 yrs.	Yes	No	1	20 mos.	
4	?	28	1 yr.	Yes	No	1	3 mos.	
5	÷	29	3 yrs.	Yes	No	1	22 mos.	Began use of contraceptives only after birth of first child, on account difficulties of delivery
6	÷	30	8 mo.	No	No	0	—	Divorced husband. Intercourse so frequent it led to ill health. Miscarriage
7	?	31	9 yrs.	Yes	No	1	Unans.	
8	?	36	10 yrs.	Yes	No	1	7 yrs.	
9	?	41	9 yrs.	Yes	No	1	7 yrs.	
10	?	43	27 yrs.	Yes	No	0	—	
11	÷	45	22 yrs.	Yes	No	1	20 yrs.	Apparently has used contraceptives in later years. "I began to feel too old to bear another child"
12	÷	46	16 yrs.	No	No	1	12 yrs.	Disapproves contraceptives
Two	*13*							
13	?	25	4 yrs.	No	No	0	0	One expected in two months
14	?	27	4 yrs.	Yes	No	1	6 mo.	One accidental miscarriage
15	÷	28	3 yrs.	Yes	No	2	2½ yrs.	Used contraceptive only after birth of second child—couldn't afford more
16	÷	30	7 yrs.	Yes	No	2	5½ yrs.	
17	÷	30	12 yrs.	Yes	Unans.	2	10½ yrs.	Contraceptives only after birth of second child
18	÷	30	2 yrs.	Yes	1	1	1 yr.	Was homosexual with many women. Had intercourse before marriage with two men—one her *fiance*
19	?	32	7 yrs.	Yes	Unans.	2	5 yrs.	
20	÷	40	17 yrs.	Yes	No	2	16 yrs.	"My husband's sex impulses are extreme"
21	÷	43	6 yrs.	Unans.	No	2	4½ yrs.	
22	?	47	23 yrs.	Yes	No	1	—	Died at five and one-half years

TABLE V (*continued*)

No. of pregnancies	No. of cases	Age	Length of married life	Use of contraceptives	Abortions	No. of children	Age of eldest	Remarks
23.....	÷	48	27 yrs.	Yes	No	2	26 yrs.	
24.....	÷	55	28 yrs.	Yes	1	1	27 yrs.	Abortion first pregnancy—not ready for a child. Contraceptives since birth of child
25.....	÷	69	38 yrs.	No	No	2	36 yrs.	
Three.....	*17*							
26.....	?	Unans.	?	Yes	No	3	17 yrs.	
27.....	÷	24	7 yrs.	Yes	No	3	5½ yrs.	
28.....	÷	27	6 yrs.	Yes	No	2	5½ yrs.	
29.....	÷	29	5 yrs.	Yes	No	2	3½ yrs.	
30.....	÷	30	8 yrs.	Yes	No	3	7 yrs.	
31.....	÷	31	5 yrs.	No	No	4	3 yrs.	Twins
32.....	÷	32	11 yrs.	Yes	No	2	9 yrs.	
33.....	÷	33	10 yrs.	Yes	No	2	9 yrs.	
34.....	÷	34	14 yrs.	Yes	1	2	11 yrs.	
35.....	?	35	13 yrs.	Yes	No	3	—	One living, age four years
36.....	?	38	14 yrs.	Yes	No	2	11 yrs.	
37.....	÷	38	13 yrs.	Yes	No	3	9 yrs.	
38.....	÷	39	7 yrs.	Yes	No	2	—	One miscarriage, one living, age two years. Uses contraceptives, danger T.B.
39.....	÷	40	14 yrs.	No	No	3	12 yrs.	
40.....	÷	41	17 yrs.	Yes	No	3	15 yrs.	
41.....	?	58	28 yrs.	Yes	1	2	Unans.	Widow eight years. Used almost every known measure of contraception. Abortion on M.D.'s advice
42.....	÷	67	37 yrs.	Yes	No	3	—	One living, age thirty-five
Four.....	*10*							
43.....	÷	33	14 yrs.	Yes	No	3	13 yrs.	
44.....	?	34	11 yrs.	Yes	No	3	8 yrs.	
45.....	?	40	14 yrs.	Yes	No	4	12 yrs.	
46.....	?	42	16 yrs.	No	No	3	12½ yrs.	
47.....	÷	47	22 yrs.	Yes	No	4	21 yrs.	
48.....	?	48	14 yrs.	No	No	3	Unans.	Has been a widow nine years
49.....	÷	50	24 yrs.	Yes	No	4	23 yrs.	
50.....	÷	51	25 yrs.	Yes	No	4	24½ yrs.	
51.....	÷	51	24 yrs.	Yes	No	3	23 yrs.	
52.....	÷	59	29 yrs.	Yes	No	4	28 yrs.	
Five.....	*5*							
53.....	÷	46	20 yrs.	No	No	2	19 yrs.	
54.....	÷	47	21 yrs.	Yes	?	4	20 yrs.	Evasive answer to abortion
55.....	?	50	25 yrs.	Yes	No	4	23 yrs.	
56.....	?	52	31 yrs.	Yes	No	3 living	29 yrs.	
57.....	÷	57	36 yrs.	Yes	No	3 living	35 yrs.	

TABLE V (*continued*)

No. of pregnancies	No. of cases	Age	Length of married life	Use of contraceptives	Abortions	No. of children	Age of eldest	Remarks
Six.....	*2*							
58.....	?	28	5 yrs.	No	5	1	11½ mos.	First three abortions before marriage
59.....	÷	46	13 yrs.	Yes	No	6	11½ mos.	
Seven.....	*2*							
60.....	?	39	13 yrs.	No	No	6	10 yrs.	Four living
61.....	÷	39	18 yrs.	Yes	2	5	18 yrs.	
Eight.....	*1*							
62.....	÷	36	16 yrs.	Yes	1	4	15 yrs.	
Eleven.....	*1*							
63.....	÷	36	15 yrs.	Yes	No	9 living	11½ yrs.	Has borne twelve children, one pair of twins

Summary.—Practically certain pregnancy took place during period of daily intercourse, 40, or 63.5 per cent.

Uncertain, 23, or 36.5 per cent.

Used contraceptives at some period of married life, 51, or 82.5 per cent of those replying.

Did not use contraceptives, 11.

Unanswered as to use of contraceptives, 1.

Average number of pregnancies, 3.15.

All but 4 have had children. In one of these cases one is expected within two months.

Average number of children, 2.6.

One child, 14 cases; two children, 17 cases; three children, 15 cases (two reply three living—had five pregnancies); four children, 9 cases (one pair of twins); five children, 1 case; six children, 2 cases; twelve children, 1 case (one pair of twins). Total, 59 cases.

Number of abortions: One, 5 cases; two, 2 cases; five, 1 case (first three before marriage). Total; 8 cases. Unanswered, 2 cases.

TABLE VI

NINETEEN CASES WHERE SEX INTERCOURSE TOOK PLACE OFTENER THAN ONCE A DAY

No. of pregnancies	No. of cases	Age	Length (years) of married life	Used contraceptives	Abortions	No. of children	Age of eldest	Frequency of intercourse	Remarks
One.....	5								
1....	÷	39	14	No	No	1	13 yrs.	Every night, sometimes oftener, during first eight or ten years	"Am getting my husband trained away from his early college habits"
2....	÷	23	3	Yes	No	1	23 mos.	First year once or twice a day; second year about four times a week; third year about twice a week	

TABLE VI (*continued*)

No. of pregnancies	No. of cases	Age	Length (years) of married life	Used contraceptives	Abortions	No. of children	Age of eldest	Frequency of intercourse	Remarks
3....	?	25	3	Yes	No	1	9 mos.	The first three months every night and morning; then every night throughout first year.	
4....	?	40	15	No	No	1	15 yrs.	At first once or twice a night; later twice weekly	Intercourse with *fiance* during year preceding marriage
5....	?	55	19	No	No	1	Unans.	Once or twice every twenty-four hours	
Two....	*2*								
6....	?	44	21	Yes	No	2	19 yrs.	Night and morning for the first year; gradually reduced till now about once a month	
7....	?	51	28	Yes	No	1	19 yrs.	Every night and sometimes mornings; now after twenty-eight years five or six times a week	
Three...	*4*								
8....	÷	33	11	No	No	0	–	Every night, sometimes oftener, first eight or ten years	
9....	÷	43	17	Yes	No	3	16 yrs.	Daily, sometimes oftener; continued during sixteen years	
10....	?	46	16	Yes	No	3	Unans.	First year nightly, sometimes twice. "A great strain on me"	
11....	÷	49	17	Yes	No	2	14 yrs.	Nightly, sometimes oftener first eight or ten years	
Four....	*3*								
12....	?	30	5	Yes	No	2	2½ yrs.	From once or twice a day gradually diminishing till, after five years, only once or twice weekly	

TABLE VI (*continued*)

No. of pregnancies	No. of cases	Age	Length (years) of married life	Used contraceptives	Abortions	No. of children	Age of eldest	Frequency of intercourse	Remarks
13....	÷	30	8	Yes	1	3	6½ yrs.	Once every night; sometimes two or three times a night	Only living child
14....	÷	57	38	Yes	No	4	35 yrs.	Once or twice a night; now, after thirty-eight years, every other night	
Six.....	*1*								
15....	÷	42	18	Yes	3	2	17 yrs.	More than once a day for first eight or ten years; now, after eighteen years, about five times weekly	
Seven...	*2*								
16....	÷	47	24	Yes	1	5	22 yrs.	Three or four times a day during first eight or ten years; now, after twenty-four years, almost daily	Intercourse with *fiance* before marriage
17....	?	44	17	Yes	1	5	*12½ yrs.	During honeymoon several times in twenty-four hours; afterward, for eight or ten years, almost nightly	*Oldest living; one died at fifteen months; do not know which in order
Eight....	*1*								
18....	÷	33	11	Yes	5	2	10 yrs.	Once or twice a day	
Thirteen.	*1*								
19....	÷	53	36	Yes	2	8	35 yrs.	Every night, sometimes twice in the night and again in the morning; after thirty-six years, now about five times a week	

÷ indicates practically certain conception took place during period of daily intercourse.. 11
? indicates uncertainty..... 8

Total..... 19

Summary.—Used contraceptives at some period of married life, 15 cases; did not, 4 cases.
Abortions: one, 3 cases; two, 1 case; three, 1 case; five, 1 case; no abortions, 13 cases.
All have had pregnancies—average, 4.1.
All but one have had children—average for 18, 2.47.
One child, 6 cases; two children, 5 cases; three children, 3 cases; four children, 1 case; five children, 2 cases; eight children, 1 case.

TABLE VII

COMPARISON OF GROUPS HAVING INTERCOURSE DAILY OR OFTENER WITH TOTAL GROUP

	Group with intercourse oftener than once a day	Group with intercourse daily	Total group
	19 cases (all pregnant) 100% pregnant	71 cases (8 never pregnant) 88.7% pregnant	1000 cases (159 never pregnant) 15 unanswered 83.8% pregnant
Average number of pregnancies...	4.1	3.15 (63 cases)	2.78 (826 cases)
Average number of children.....	2.47 (18 cases)	2.6 (59 cases)	2.21 (785 cases) (206 no children) 15 unans.
Used contraceptives.....	78.9% (19 cases)	75.7% (70 cases)	74.1% (985 cases)
Average age at time of reporting.	41.2	38.9 (70 cases)	38.3 yrs. (987 cases)
Average age at marriage.....	24.4	24.7 (70 cases)	25.7 yrs. (998 cases)
Average length of married life....	16.8	14.3 (69 cases)	11.9
Education—college graduate.....	52.6%	64.7%	69.1%

Eight Cases in Which There Were No Pregnancies

A. *Five Cases Where No Contraceptives Were Used.—Case 1* is a woman of 40 who married at the age of 23 a widower 23 years older than herself. He had two sons.

As a child her first sex information came from an older sister, who told her about menstruation at the age of 12. She had never had any sex instruction from parents. She had asked questions, but had met with rebuff—was scolded for asking. As a child she played with the boys a great deal—she had brothers. She played mother, "and all the other children were my nursing babies. Older boys would often nurse and play with me until at 13 I saw my breasts were getting large." She menstruated first at 13. "Made me feel tired; I hated it; wanted to be clean."

About three days after each menstrual period "I became very passionate and wanted the boys to hug and kiss me." At about 14 "a neighbor man" held her tight and kissed her. "It made me long to be held that way often."

After graduation from high school she became office girl for a doctor. She read his medical books when she got a chance and looked at the pictures. "Read the use and description of all the sexual organs." "The doctor explained some, but time did not permit as much as I wanted to know."

At 18 she met an older man "whom I liked." She "liked his clean appearance." He asked for intercourse, to try it once. "He said he would not hurt me." She tried, liked it, and they had intercourse once a week for five years. She says she accepted her first offer of marriage,[1] "to my sorrow."

The marriage was unhappy. Her desires and reactions were stronger than his. Relations have been reduced in frequency from early years, when they occurred daily, until now, after seventeen years, they have taken place hardly once a month—not enough to satisfy her. "He tires quickly and quits." She has practiced masturbation "at every opportunity" since she was 11 years old. She has never used contraceptives. She always wanted a child.

Her health has always been excellent. She believes in sex instruction and wishes she had had it about the time she began menstruation. Has herself instructed her husband's two sons. She began it "as soon as they began to notice the girls." Continued till they married. With one boy the result has been satisfactory. "The other was led by a bad woman."

Case 2 is a woman, now 44, who married at 28 a man of 56. Her health always has been excellent. She studied three years in a university. She taught before marriage and one year after. She was never curious about sex. The answers to questions she asked her parents were satisfactory to her. Questions relating to preparation for menstruation are unanswered. She

[1] She does not say definitely, but I infer that the man she married was not the one with whom she previously had these relations.

menstruated first at 12 years. Her emotions were of repulsion. She indulged in no sex practices before marriage. She wanted children and expected to be happy in pregnancy. Her marriage has been happy and her sex relations pleasurable. After sixteen years of married life sex intercourse takes place almost daily. It occurred daily the first eight or ten years.

Case 3 is a woman now 39. She has been married ten years to a man two years older than herself. Her health always has been good except for one nervous breakdown at the age of 28. She is a college graduate. She never engaged in gainful occupation before marriage. She is doing secretarial work at present.

She had no preparation for menstruation, which first occurred at 14. Its appearance caused alarm and shame, but no sexual feelings. She had no sex instructions. Her questions did not elicit "actual rebuff, but discouragement." "Was told I would learn about these things when I grew up." She engaged in no sex practices either as a child or as an adult. Her answers to these questions are "No!" or "*No*" emphatic.

Her marriage relations caused fright at first, due to ignorance. They became pleasurable later. She prefers not to discuss questions relative to frequency and intensity of desire as between herself and husband. Her married life has been happy. She never used contraceptives. There is nothing in paper to explain sterility.

Case 4 is a woman now 62, a college graduate who married twice, first at the age of 33. Her husband died eight years after. At 49 she married again. This husband is still living and the marriage is happy. Her first marriage, where intercourse occurred every night, was unhappy. "Husband was erratic, irascible, and, as I finally discovered, almost sexually insane." He was unfaithful to her. Her health is always excellent. She taught and did newspaper writing before marriage and newspaper writing for two years afterward. As a child she had no sex instruction and did not ask any questions. She was puzzled as to why children might resemble father. "I thought mother

must drink father's blood." Girl cousins told her of menstruation at its onset when she was 15. She thinks there was a slight sex stimulation after menstruation. She began masturbation at about 7. It was spontaneous. The impulse was irresistible and pleasurable. She indulged several times a day for almost two years. "More pleasurable than almost any other sex experience in my life." She felt instinctively that it was wrong and stopped it. In later life only indulged "four times perhaps in all."

Sex intercourse was often neutral, sometimes pleasurable. She believes she is deficient in ability to reach climax and wonders if early masturbation had anything to do with it. She has never used contraceptives. She tells a story of sexual attraction by a Frenchman seen only once in Paris. This was the one episode of the kind in her life. She felt as if she could run away with him. She is a college graduate.

Case 5 is a woman of 33, married at 23 to a man five years older than herself. She is a college graduate. She enjoys unusually excellent health. She lives on a ranch and managed it for one and a half years during the war. She has been postmaster on the ranch for seven years.

She had instruction from her mother at 12 years in regard to menstruation. She felt disgust at its inconvenience, but pleasure at being grown up. She is sorry mother never explained things, particularly married relations. She and husband both were ignorant. "We had a hard time at the beginning and that may have kept me from becoming pregnant." She indulged in no sex practices in childhood or later until marriage. She "never heard of masturbation until recently." She had six brothers. At fourteen a schoolmate told her that all boys were bad and that her brothers probably were also. "It made me sick and furious and I always hated her after that. . . . Once a boy kissed me and I nearly brained him. Made a point of being extremely unsentimental (my brothers' influence)."

Marriage relations were painful at first, but pleasurable afterward. Later she went to a physician to find out why she did not

become pregnant. He gave her valuable information, but no pregnancy ever took place, in spite of her desire for children. She has never used contraceptives. Her marriage is happy.

B. *Three Cases Where Contraceptives Were Used.—Case 6* is a woman aged 22, a college graduate, who has been married one year to a man six years older than herself. Her health has always been good. She had no preparation for menstruation, which occurred at 11 years. She had no emotions concerning it. She indulged in masturbation once or twice a month from 11 years to marriage. She had no sex intercourse before marriage. She never had sex instruction, but a warning from mother not to let boys or men touch her. She has two or three marked periods of desire between menstrual periods, a week or two apart. Her sex relations are pleasurable and satisfactory. She wants to have children "when I wish them." The method she used she believes to have been satisfactory.

Case 7 is a woman physician who has not practiced since marriage. She is now 47. She married at 30 a man eighteen years older than herself, a widower with two children. She has been a widow three and one-half years.

She and her husband did not want children, so she used a contraceptive method. As a child she had no preparation for menstruation at age of 13 years and was much frightened. She has had no sex practices such as masturbation. She experiences vague desires and uneasiness before menstruation. Her medical education taught her what to expect in marriage and her marriage was happy. Her relations were pleasurable, though her desires not so strong as husband's. Her health was always good until widowhood; now she is nervous and anæmic.

Case 8 is a woman of 30, a college graduate, married at 24 to a man of 26. Her married life has not been very happy, due to "incompatibility of temperament, interests, and pleasures." Her husband does not want children, and therefore she has used several different contraceptive methods, successfully, she believes.

Her health is only fair. She is nervous and she has had slight

ovarian disturbances. She never had any sex instruction. A maid told her of menstruation. Its onset at 14 frightened her. She had no sex experience before marriage. She was repelled at first by married relations, but found them pleasurable afterward.

Her mother thinks it a disgrace to speak of sexual matters. She herself thought pregnancy a disgrace. "Only lately can I overcome even a little that feeling and still blush when new arrivals are spoken of before strange men."

CHAPTER III

THE HAPPINESS OF MARRIED LIFE— GENERAL FACTORS

The question, "What is happiness?" is as difficult to answer as Pilate's old question, "What is truth?"

Conceptions as to what constitutes happiness in its large sense vary with racial groups, geographical location, political and social organization, and religious beliefs. Within any one country, our own for example, social status is a most important qualifying factor. In the last analysis personality, that strange result of heredity and environment, will determine the individual concept.

We talk of the monogamous family as the fundamental unit of our social structure, and we say it must be a "happy family" if the next generation is to have the best possible start in life.

The family based on the union of one man and one woman will be happy according as this man and this woman are happy as individuals. Their happiness will depend on three things: his conception of happiness, her conception of happiness, and how their two conceptions fit together.

The individual ideals of happiness have very much the same components for all of us, but we emphasize differently such factors as economic circumstances, physical, intellectual, and emotional satisfactions, and freedom for self-expression.

Various secondary matters enter into the happiness of permanent relationships of all kinds. In married life the sex relationship, both in its physical and emotional aspects, indisputably plays the major part.

Of the married women to whom we sent our questionnaire, we asked the question: "Is your married life a happy one? If not, why?"

As has been pointed out in Chapter I, the 1,000 women whose answers we are studying are a very homogeneous group and above the average as to education. It is probable that among them there is less difference in the standards of married happiness than there would be if our group had represented a genuine cross section of American womankind.

The great proportion of women who answered our questionnaires said that their married lives had been happy. Only 12 failed to answer the question. There were 872 who answered unequivocally in the affirmative. One hundred and sixteen were either partially or totally unhappy.

In answer to the question, "If not, why?" six of the 116 left a blank. Eighty-eight gave one reason for unhappiness, 20 gave two reasons each, and 2 gave three reasons each. In the following table the reasons are placed in order of the number of times each is mentioned:

TABLE I

REASONS GIVEN FOR UNHAPPINESS OF MARRIED LIFE

Incompatibility of temperament or interests		40
Difficulties of adjustment of sexual life		
(a) on the part of the husband	18	
(b) on the part of the wife	5	23
Economic reasons: inability of husband to support family; one case of desertion		14
Husband unfaithful		12
Husband alcoholic		10
No children		4
Not sufficient love for husband		4
Violent and uncontrolled temper of husband		3
Religious differences		3
Too great disparity of age		3
Too much mother-in-law		2
Absence overseas changed husband's attitude toward home and morals		2
Husband insane—1; melancholic moods—1		2
Husband dishonest		2
Inability to adjust practice of medicine to home life		2
Ill health of wife		1
Ill health of husband		1
Wife poor housekeeper		1
Differences in sexual standards		1
Cruelty		1
"Disappointed" in husband		1
Children too close together—contraceptives do not work		1
Husband a morphine addict		1
Total		134

An inspection of this table raised a number of questions. Only four women give "no children" as cause of unhappiness, yet 20 per cent of our entire group of 1,000 are childless. Three only mentioned disparity of age, yet a comparison of ages of husband and wife in individual questionnaires revealed a considerable number of cases where disparity was as great and yet the marriage was said to be happy. Fourteen alleged economic reasons, although 239 of the entire 1,000, of whom 190 were in the happy group, contributed to the family budget by work outside the home. Possibly the large proportion may have been so occupied by choice rather than by necessity.

A reading through the entire questionnaire of each of the unhappy 116 women, indicated that a careful statistical study of this group compared with the happy 872 might yield results of interest.

TABLE II

AGE AT TIME OF ANSWERING QUESTIONNAIRE

Age	Entire 1000	Unans. as to hap. 12	Happy 872	Unhappy 116	Age	Entire 1000	Unans. as to hap. 12	Happy 872	Unhappy 116
Unans.	13	.....	12	1	50	15	.....	13	2
21	3	.....	3	.....	51	14	.....	11	3
22	2	.....	2	.....	52	11	.....	8	3
23	3	.....	3	.....	53	12	.....	8	4
24	8	1	6	1	54	9	.....	7	2
25	17	.....	16	1	55	11	.....	7	4
26	33	1	31	1	56	6	.....	5	1
27	30	.....	29	1	57	6	.....	4	2
28	50	1	47	2	58	9	.....	8	1
29	44	.....	43	1	59	8	.....	6	2
30	68	.....	56	12	60	2	.....	1	1
31	52	.....	49	3	61	4	.....	3	1
32	44	.....	40	4	62	5	.....	2	3
33	48	.....	42	6	63	2	.....	1	1
34	27	.....	23	4	64	2	1	1	.....
35	37	.....	35	2	65	6	.....	3	3
36	30	2	25	3	66	1	.....	1	.....
37	25	.....	20	5	67	2	.....	1	1
38	40	.....	40	.....	68	3	.....	3	.....
39	40	.....	36	4	69	3	.....	3	.....
40	36	.....	30	6	70	1	.....	1	.....
41	20	.....	15	5	74	1	.....	1	.....
42	35	2	31	2	76	1	.....	1	.....
43	29	1	26	2	79	1	.....	1	.....
44	27	.....	25	2	83	1	.....	1	.....
45	24	.....	23	1					
46	25	1	22	2	Ans'd	987	12	860	115
47	22	.....	18	4	Unans.	13	.....	12	1
48	16	.....	14	2					
49	16	2	9	5	Total	1000	12	872	116

	Entire 1000	Happy 872	Unhappy 116
Oldest	83	83	67
Youngest	21	21	24
Mode	30	30	30
Average	38.3	$37.5^{+}_{-.33}$	$42.9^{+}_{-}\}1.05$
Standard deviation		9.7	11.2

Age.—The first comparison made between the happy and unhappy groups was regarding the present ages reported by the women of these groups. This comparison is shown in Table II.

The three women of 21 who answered the questionnaire were all in the happy group, while the youngest woman in the unhappy group gave her age as 24. The oldest woman in the happy group was 83, while in the unhappy group the upper age limit was 67.

The mode, thirty years, was the same for the entire 1,000 as well as for both happy and unhappy groups, but the *average* ages were 37.5 for the happy, and 42.9 for the unhappy women. In other words, the latter group averaged 5.4 years older.

Is this difference in average ages of over five years large enough to warrant the suggestion that age is a real factor in the happiness of married life? To answer this question, we examined the difference by a statistical method based on the theory of probability.[1] This examination indicated that there was practically no chance at all but that other groups of unhappily married women, selected in a similar way, would show higher average ages than groups of similarly selected happily married women.

We next compared the educational attainments of the two groups.

As shown in Table III, the percentage of college women in the happy group is 77.3, while in the unhappy group it is 66.9. The

[1] The differences between the averages is 5.4. The standard deviation of this difference, computed by extracting the square root of the sum of the squares of the standard deviations of the two averages (see Table II) is 1.1. The difference, therefore, is nearly five times the standard deviation of the difference, and the chances that a real difference does not exist are about 1 in infinity.

difference between these two percentages may be regarded as probably significant and not the result of chance sampling.[1]

As it appeared probable that there were real differences in age and education between the two groups, we proceeded to select a group of 116 who were happy and whose age and education corresponded exactly to the unhappy group, thus elim-

TABLE III

EDUCATION OF HAPPY AND UNHAPPY GROUPS AS COMPARED WITH THAT OF ENTIRE GROUP

School Grade	Number			Percentages		
	Entire 1000	Happy 872*	Unhappy 116	Entire 1000	Happy 872	Unhappy 116
College or university graduate	691	614	72	69.2	70.4	62.6
College one–three years	66	60	5	6.6	6.9	4.3
High or normal school graduate	145	119	22	14.5	13.7	19.2
Less than high school	62	49	11	6.2	5.6	9.6
Private school or tutor	35	30	5	3.5	3.4	4.3
Total answered as to education	999	872	115	100.0	100.0	100.0
Unanswered	1	...	1	.....	.....	.....
Total group	1000	872	116	.....	.....	.....

* Twelve failed to answer as to happiness.

inating these two factors. We proceeded as follows: If the first case of an unhappy marriage was that of a college woman of 35, we chose the first case of a happy marriage where the wife was of the same age and education. In this way a group of 116 happy marriages was selected of identical age and education as far as the wife was concerned. Further, in selecting these cases, the procedure adopted was that if there were 12 unhappy mar-

[1] The formula for the standard deviation of a difference between two percentages is $\sigma_{dif} = \sqrt{\frac{p_1q_1}{n_1} + \frac{p_2q_2}{n_2}}$, where p_1 and p_2 are the two percentages, q_1 and q_2 are the respective differences between these percentages and 1.00, and n_1 and n_2 are the number of cases on which the percentages are based. A difference greater than twice the standard deviation of the difference may be regarded as probably significant. Applying this formula to the percentages of college women in the two groups, we find that the standard deviation of the difference between the percentages is .045. The difference between the two percentages is .104, or more than twice the standard deviation of the difference.

riages in the first 100 cases, the 12 corresponding happy cases were chosen from the same 100 and so on through each successive 100 cases.

We now were able to compare the unhappy 116 not only with the happy group of 872 and the entire 1,000, but with a happy group of 116 of identical age and education.

Occupation.—Tables IV and V show the relationship between occupation outside the home before and during marriage and the happiness of married life.

TABLE IV

OCCUPATION BEFORE MARRIAGE AND HAPPINESS OF MARRIED LIFE

Employment	Number*				Percentages			
	Entire 1000	Happy 872	Unhappy 116	Happy 116	Entire 1000	Happy 872	Unhappy 116	Happy 116
Employed	597	511	78	70	60.1	58.9	67.2	60.9
Unemployed	397	356	38	45	39.9	41.1	32.8	39.1
Total answered	994	867	116	115	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Unanswered	6	5	...	1	.....	.....	.....	.....
Total group	1000	872	116	116	.....	.....	.....	.....

* The extent of employment in gainful occupations among the 12 women who failed to answer as to happiness is shown in the following table:

Before marriage		*During marriage*	
Employed	8	Employed	4
Unemployed	3	Unemployed	6
Unanswered	1	Unanswered	2

Only 8 more individuals in the unhappy group than in the happy group is 77.3, while in the unhappy group it is 66.9. The corresponding difference between the percentages employed in the two groups is only 6.4. Subjecting the difference, however, to our mathematical formula, we find that on the basis of the numbers studied it is not significant. Age might hypothetically have had some bearing, as in the girlhood of the older members of our groups teaching was almost the only occupation open to women. Education also might affect the result since college women probably have the way open to a wider range of employment. But in both these groups these two factors are constant.

With occupations during married life the case is different.

An inspection of Table IV shows a difference of 12.5 per cent in groups of 110 and 102, respectively, between the unhappy and happy as to gainful employment, which by application of our formula is shown to be probably valid. We feel safe, therefore,

TABLE V

OCCUPATION DURING MARRIAGE AND HAPPINESS OF MARRIED LIFE

Employment	Number *				Percentages			
	Entire 1000	Happy 872	Unhappy 116	Happy 116	Entire 1000	Happy 872	Unhappy 116	Happy 116
Employed	239	190	45	29	25.9	23.7	40.9	28.4
Unemployed	683	612	65	73	74.1	76.3	59.1	71.6
Total answered	922	802	110	102	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Unanswered	78	70	6	14	.....	.....	.....	.....
Total group	1000	872	116	116	.....	.....	.....	.....

* See footnote 1, Table IV.

in saying that as to the groups studied occupation outside the home during married life is *not* conducive to married happiness. How far this conclusion could be carried over to other groups is another question.

It is interesting to note that of 369 women who were teachers before marriage, 92, or 24.9 per cent, continued or returned to teaching after marriage. Of these, 24, or 26 per cent, were unhappy. Of the 26 women physicians who answered our questionnaire, 24, or 92.3 per cent, practiced after marriage, and of these, 5, or 20.8 per cent, were unhappy, the reasons given being incompatibility, 1; alcoholism on the part of husband, 1; dishonesty, 1; and inability to adjust the requirements of practice to demands of married life, 2.

Five of the teachers failed to answer the question as to happiness before marriage. All the physicians answered.

Health.—Rich or poor, married or single, lady of leisure or workingwoman, there can be no disputing that in any walk in life, for any business in life, good health is the single greatest asset. We are not surprised, therefore, to find that good health *before* marriage is found to be greater among those happily

married than among those of the same age and education who are not so fortunate.

It is significant of the general interest in health that every one of the 1,000 women answered the question as to health before marriage and only 5 failed to answer as to health after marriage.

Table VI places the 1,000 women in eight groups. Those in groups 7 and 8 answered in such a way that they could not be placed definitely under the other headings.

TABLE VI

CORRELATION: HAPPINESS OF MARRIED LIFE AND HEALTH BEFORE MARRIAGE

Condition of health	Number				Percentages			
	Entire 1000	Happy 872 *	Unhappy 116	Happy 116	Entire 1000	Happy 872	Unhappy 116	Happy 116
Exceptionally good	324	295	27	44	32.4	33.8	23.3	37.9
Good	417	360	52	50	41.7	41.3	44.8	43.1
Fair	167	150	16	12	16.7	17.2	13.8	10.4
Never strong, not robust, delicate	43	30	10	6	4.3	3.5	8.6	5.1
Poor	29	23	5	2	2.9	2.6	4.3	1.7
Very poor	1	1	....	....	.1	.1	....	....
Good as a child or in early adolescence, then poor to marriage	7	6	1	....	.7	.7	.9	....
Poor or delicate as a child, improved up to marriage	12	7	5	2	1.2	.8	4.3	1.7
Total group	1000	872	116	116	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

* Twelve did not answer as to happiness.

Rearranging Table VI and omitting groups 7 and 8, we have the following comparison as to health:

	Good or better	Fair or delicate	Poor or worse
Unhappy 116	68.1	22.4	4.3
Entire group 1000	74.1	21.0	3.0
Happy 872	75.1	20.7	2.7
Happy 116	81.0	15.5	1.7

It will be noted that of those whose health before marriage was good or better, there is a difference of nearly 13 per cent, a

difference so large as to be almost certainly significant[1] in favor of the happy 116 as compared with the unhappy.

Health after marriage was compared with that previous to marriage by grouping those who stated that their general health was practically unchanged, those whose general health was better, and those cases in which it was worse. The latter group includes a number of cases in which difficult labor and the accidents of childbirth permanently affected the health.

TABLE VII

CORRELATION: HEALTH AFTER MARRIAGE WITH HAPPINESS OF MARRIED LIFE

Degree of health	Number				Percentages			
	Entire 1000	Happy 872 *	Unhappy 116	Happy 116	Entire 1000	Happy 872	Unhappy 116	Happy 116
The same	662	594	61	76	66.5	68.4	53.5	66.7
Better	189	161	25	21	19.0	18.5	21.9	18.4
Worse	144	114	28	17	14.5	13.1	24.6	14.9
Total answered	995	869	114	114	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Unanswered	5	3	2	2	.....	.....	.....	.....
Total group	1000	872	116	116	.....	.....	.....	.....

* Twelve did not reply as to happiness.

Rearranging Table VII, we have the following comparison as to changes in health:

	Same	Better	Worse
Unhappy 116	53.5	21.9	24.6
Entire group 1000	66.5	19.0	14.5
Happy 872	68.4	18.5	13.1
Happy 116	66.7	18.4	14.9

An inspection of this table shows that stability of health is greater in the happy group, with a difference large enough to be significant. The unhappy group shows a larger number both

[1] Hereafter throughout the chapter it is to be understood that when we say a difference is significant, it means that it is at least equal to twice the standard deviation of the difference, and for our purposes can be taken to mean that in the groups under consideration is probably a real difference and not the result of chance sampling.

of those who were better and those who were worse. The former difference, however, is not large enough to be significant. The latter probably is. In all groups except the unhappy 116, the actual number of those who were better after marriage is larger than those who were worse.

Number of Children.—Four women gave "no children" as the reason for unhappiness of married life. An inspection of Table VIII shows that of our entire group 206 women were childless. Inasmuch, however, as this group contains 190 women under thirty years of age, it is highly probable that a considerable number may yet become mothers and in any case the hope of children may still be entertained. Of these all but 32 were happy. Yet when we compare our two groups of happy and unhappy of the same age and education we find a difference that is significant.

Age of Husband and Wife at Time of Marriage.—In Tables IX and X we have arranged the ages of husband and wife at time of marriage in five-year periods. The difference in the average ages of the various groups in the two tables is too slight

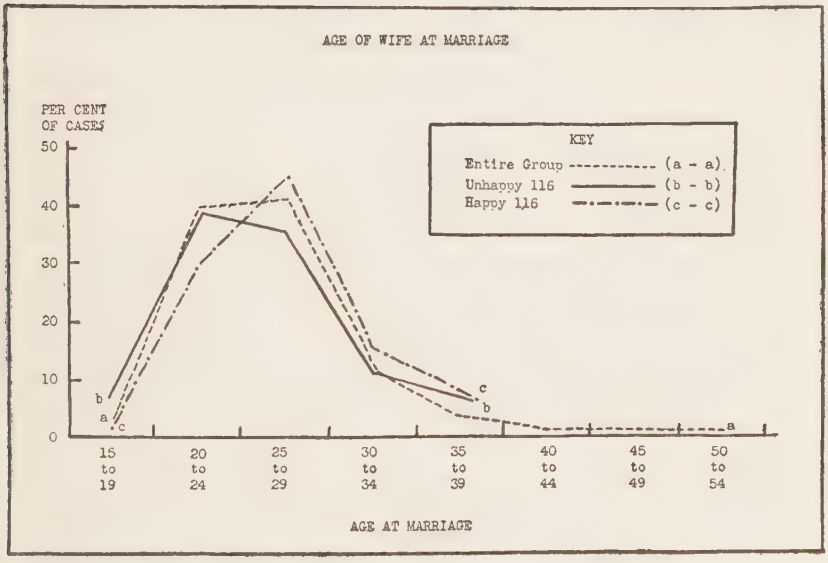


CHART I

to be significant, but a study of the dispersion of these groups as shown in Charts I and II suggests several questions.

In Chart I it will be noted that the line c-c representing the happy 116 throughout its entire distance falls to the right of the line a-a representing the general group, and still farther to the right of the line b-b representing the unhappy 116. That is to say, in all age groups the age of the happy 116 women at time of marriage is greater than that of the unhappy 116.

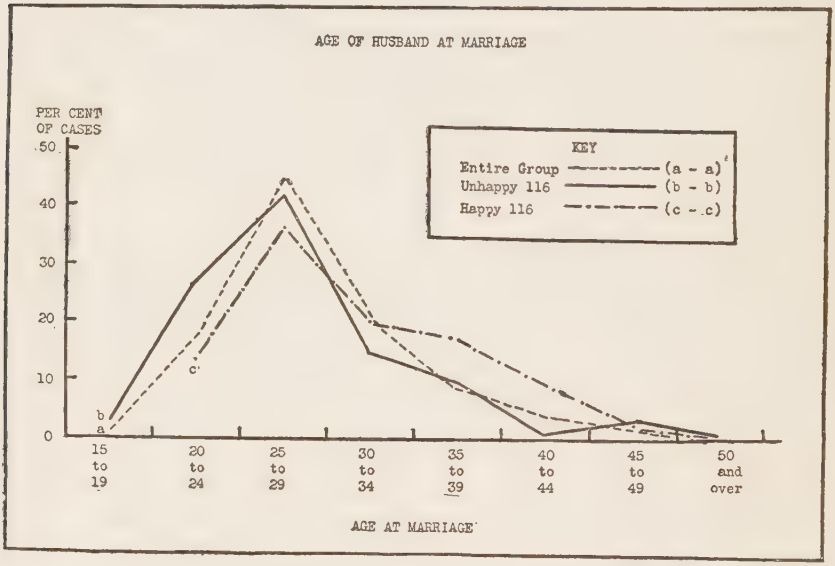


CHART II

Chart II, representing the age of the husband at marriage, shows an even greater deviation in the happy and unhappy groups at both ends of the scale.

Generally speaking then, the study of the two groups of equal size and of the same age and education shows that the happy group on the whole is composed of women whose own age and that of their husbands at time of marriage was greater than in the unhappy group.

In three cases disparity of age was given as the cause of unhappiness. In order to study the factor of age differences and their effect on married happiness, we selected from each

TABLE VIII

NUMBER OF CHILDREN

Number of children	Number			
	Entire 1000	Happy* 872	Unhappy 116	Happy 116
None†	206	171	32	20
One	250	222	25	22
Two	269	236	30	36
Three	151	130	19	19
Four	78	70	7	14
Five	27	26	1	2
Six	5	5	.....	.....
Seven	2	2	.....	.....
Eight	1	.....	1	.....
Nine	1	.....	1	.....
Ten	.....	.....	.....	.....
Eleven	.....	.....	.....	.....
Twelve	.....	.....	.....	.....
Thirteen	1	1	.....	.....
Total answered	991	863	116	116
Unanswered	9	9	.....	.....
Total children	1762	1551	192	220

* The 12 who failed to answer as to happiness had: no children, 3; one child, 3; two children, 3; three children, 2; four children, 1. Total, 12.

† Percentage of those having no children: entire 1000, 20.7 per cent; happy 872, 19.8 per cent; unhappy 116, 27.5 per cent; happy 116, 17.2 per cent.

group of 116: first, all those cases in which the husband was more than ten years older than the wife; and second, a group in which the wife was more than three years older than the husband, and we added a small group where both man and wife were under twenty-one at the time of marriage.

Table XI shows that while among the unhappy there were eight cases where the husband was more than ten years older, there were fourteen such cases among the happy. Where the wife was more than three years older than the husband there were four cases among the unhappy and two among the happy.

Of the five instances where both partners were under twenty-one at time of marriage, four resulted unhappily.

TABLE IX

COMPARISON: AGE OF WIFE AT MARRIAGE IN ENTIRE GROUP WITH HAPPY AND UNHAPPY 116 (IN FIVE-YEAR PERIODS)

Age at marriage: wife	Number			Percentages		
	Entire group	Unhappy 116	Happy 116	Entire 998	Unhappy 116	Happy 116
15–19 years	38	9	4	3.8	7.8	3.4
20–24 years	396	45	34	39.7	39.1	29.3
25–29 years	406	41	52	40.7	35.7	44.8
30–34 years	115	13	16	11.5	11.3	13.8
35–39 years	34	7	9	3.4	6.1	7.8
40–44 years	6	.....	1	.6	.....	.9
45–49 years	2	.....	.....	2	.....	.....
50–54 years	1	.....	.....	1	.....	.....
Total giving age	998	115	116	100.0	100.0	100.0
Unanswered	2	1	.....	.....	.....	.....
Total group	1000	116	116	.....	.....	.....
Mode	24	25	27	.....	.....	.....
Average	25.7	25.3	26.8	.....	.....	.....

TABLE X

COMPARISON: AGE OF HUSBAND AT MARRIAGE IN ENTIRE GROUP WITH HAPPY AND UNHAPPY 116 (IN FIVE-YEAR PERIODS)

Age at marriage: husband	Number			Percentages		
	Entire group	Unhappy 116	Happy 116	Entire 997	Unhappy 114	Happy 116
15–19 years	4	2	.....	.4	1.8	.....
20–24 years	168	30	16	16.9	26.3	13.8
25–29 years	455	48	42	45.6	42.1	36.2
30–34 years	213	17	23	21.4	14.9	19.8
35–39 years	188	11	20	8.8	9.7	17.2
40–44 years	40	1	11	4.0	.9	9.5
45–49 years	20	4	3	2.0	3.4	2.6
50–54 years	6	.....	.....	.6	.....	.....
55–59 years	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
60–64 years	2	.....	1	.2	.....	.9
65–69 years	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
70–74 years	1	1	.....	.1	.9	.....
Total giving age	997	114	116	100.0	100.0	100.0
Unanswered	3	2	.....	.....	.....	.....
Total group	1000	116	116	.....	.....	.....
Mode	25	24	28	.....	.....	.....
Average	29	27.3	31.3	.....	.....	.....

TABLE XI

COMPARISON OF CERTAIN AGE FACTORS

Unhappy (116)							Happy (116)				
Husband more than 10 years older than wife							Husband more than 10 years older than wife				
Reference No. of case (See Table XII)	Age of wife at marriage	Age of husband at marriage	Difference in ages	Length of marriage	Reason for unhappiness	Remarks	Age of wife at marriage	Age of husband at marriage	Difference in ages	Length of marriage	Remarks
1	16	31	15	23	Husband alcoholic	Has been a widow nine years	27	42	15	24	.....
2	23	46	23	17	Disparity of age	.....	27	43	16	3	.....
3	17	45	28	10	Disparity of age	First husband died. Remarried. See Table X	23	43	20	17	.....
4	23	34	11	14	Did not love husband	.....	24	38	14	23	.....
5	36	47	11	11	Economic and no children	.....	24	38	14	26	Widow two years
6	36	73	37	4	Disparity of age	Widow eleven years	27	39	12	3	Widow fourteen years
7	28	39	11	4	Difficulties of sex adjustment	.....	29	40	11	32	.....
8	27	38	11	23	Husband insane	.....	21	32	11	14	.....
9	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	27	38	11	26	.....
10	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	26	37	11	21	.....
11	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	24	40	16	6	.....
12	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	28	40	12	31	Widow nine years
13	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	33	45	12	15	.....
14	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	40	62	22	16	Widow two and one-half years

TABLE XI (*continued*)

Unhappy (116)							Happy (116)				
Wife more than 3 years older than husband							Wife more than 3 years older than husband				
Reference No. of case (See Table XII)	Age of wife at marriage	Age of husband at marriage	Difference in ages	Length of marriage	Reason for unhappiness	Remarks	Age of wife at marriage	Age of husband at marriage	Difference in ages	Length of marriage	Remarks
1	33	24	9	29	Incompatibility	.....	26	20	6	6	.....
2	32	24	8	23	Ill health; cannot adjust. Medical practice	.....	35	28	7	16	Second marriage; has been widow five years
3	35	25	10	38	Sexual maladjustment	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
4	36	32	4	19	Incompatibility	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Both under 21 at time of marriage							Both under 21 at time of marriage				
1	17	19	.....	10	Husband unfaithful	First marriage divorced. Remarried	19	20	.....	6	.....
2	19	20	.....	6	Sex maladjustment	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
3	20	20	.....	16	Incompatibility	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
4	18	19	.....	15	Economic difficulties	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....

TABLE XII

SUMMARY OF CERTAIN SEX FACTORS IN CASES PRESENTED IN TABLE XI

Unhappy Group	Happy Group
Husband More Than Ten Years Older Than Wife	
1. No sex feelings, experiences, information or instruction prior to marriage. Says if she had she probably would never have married. Sex relations always unpleasant. Husband alcoholic.	No sex feeling, practices, or instruction prior to marriage. Feels married relations are degrading. They are always distasteful.
2. Had always had strong sex feeling, sex practices, etc., prior to marriage. Her sex desires are very strong and husband unable to gratify them.	Masturbated daily before marriage. Found sex relations pleasurable. Only married three years. One child. A little sex feeling in childhood and girlhood.
3. No sex feeling or experience prior to marriage. No preparation. Found married relations repellent. Now believes husband was diseased. He died. Remarried. Second marriage happy except lack of children, for which she believes first marriage was responsible.	No sex feeling or experience prior to marriage. Had a certain amount of sex instruction. No preparation for marriage. Thinks she would not have married if she had. Marriage relations always unpleasant. Has two children.
4. Strong sex feeling always. Masturbated up to marriage. Married for money. Husband "bores" her. He compels sex relations. She loves another man.	No sex feeling, experiences, or instruction prior to marriage. After first few weeks sex relationship has been pleasurable.
5. Strong sex feeling always. Sex practices as child and girl. Sex relations with husband apparently satisfactory, but never has had children. Never pregnant. Used contraceptive, at first for economic reasons.	No sex feelings or practices before marriage. Does not enjoy marriage relations. Is a physician. Husband's desire frequent; apparently able to adjust things and be happy. No children.
6. Strong sex feeling always. Masturbated until thirty. Husband impotent. Never pregnant.	No sex feelings or practices before marriage. Sex relations always satisfactory. Four children. Is a physician.
7. Strong sex feelings always. Sex practices before marriage. Sex intercourse with man she did not marry. Never pregnant. Lack of sex adjustment with husband. Married only four years.	Strong sex feeling before marriage. Sex play, including intercourse. Intercourse also with *fiance* before marriage. Married relations pleasurable. One pregnancy. Child died. "My lifelong desire has been a large family."

TABLE XII (*continued*)

Unhappy Group	Happy Group
8. No sex feelings or practices before marriage. Took sex relations with husband as matter of course. As he became mentally unbalanced she feared pregnancy and relations became very distasteful.	No sex feelings or practices prior to marriage. Marriage relations always pleasurable.
9	No sex feelings or practices prior to marriage. Marriage relations always pleasurable.
10	Very little sex feeling and no sex practices prior to marriage. Marriage relations usually pleasurable.
11	No sex feelings or practices prior to marriage. Marriage relations always pleasurable.
12	Little sex feeling. Masturbated only as a child. Marriage relations always pleasurable.
13	Sex feeling and practices prior to marriage. Sex adjustments in married life seem unsatisfactory. No children; greatly desires them.
14	Little sex feeling and no sex practices prior to marriage. Married late in life. No children. A practicing physician who has been able to make satisfactory adjustments.
Wife More Than Three Years Older Than Husband	
1. No sex feeling practices, or instruction before marriage. Markedly without sex impulse. Told by physicians that husband is strongly oversexed.	Sex feeling as child and girl. Masturbated up to present. Instructed as to marriage relations. At first painful, but "love and desire conquered pain." Since then have been pleasurable.
2. Strong sex feelings before marriage. Delicate health. Masturbated up to time of marriage. Is a physician and married a physician. Six pregnancies, three children. Unhappiness results from ill health and inability to adapt her profession to home life.	First marriage unhappy—divorced husband for infidelity. Present marriage happy and satisfactory marriage relations, though she still suffers from effects of first marriage. (See No. 3, next section, Unhappy Group.)

TABLE XII (*continued*)

Unhappy Group	Happy Group
3. Strong sex desires from age of seven years. Sex intercourse before marriage and apparently since. Masturbated to date. Husband impotent. Sex maladjustment given as reason for unhappiness.	
4. Strong sex feelings previous to marriage. Masturbation. Strongest love of life was for another woman. This delayed marriage. "Total difference in point of view, family habits, almost pathological inability of husband to meet everyday requirements of normal life."	
Both Under Twenty-one at Time of Marriage	
1. Sex feeling as child and girl. Married at seventeen a boy with whom she "had almost gone the lengths." He was unfaithful and she divorced him after ten years. (See No. 2, section above, Happy Group.)	No sex feeling, experience, or instruction before marriage. Repelled by marriage relations, which have never been pleasurable. Philosophical about it and has been able to adjust herself to them.
2. No sex feelings, practices or instruction before marriage. Fear of pregnancy spoiled relations. Contraceptives did not work. Husband's desires insistent.	
3. Strong sex feelings in childhood and girlhood. Masturbated. No proper instruction. Mother taught her that marriage was a terrible thing. Found relations very distasteful always.	
4. No sex feelings as child. Had them as a girl. Had sex intercourse with *fiancé* before marriage. Says, "It ruined my life." Says marriage relations are pleasurable. Gives economic difficulties as reason for unhappiness.	

As the character of the marriage relationship itself is shown in later correlations to be one of very great importance, a com-

parison of certain sex factors was made for this group of cases. Table XII presents brief summaries of these factors.

An examination of the left-hand column under the caption, "Unhappy Group," shows 5 instances where the women have no recollection of sex feelings prior to marriage and admit no sex practices. The remaining 11 women not only remember such feelings but also indulged in different sex practices before marriage.

In the right-hand or "happy" column, there are 17 cases. Of these 1 recalls strong sex feeling, and 3 some sex feeling prior to marriage, and all 4 admit sex practices.

The numbers are too small to admit of statistical treatment, but they are suggestive when taken in connection with the factors of difference in age.

The theory has been advanced that when there has been a satisfying and normal development of the sex life in the adult the recollection of sex feeling and even sex practices may sink into the subconscious. This theory, if sound, may explain the differences in the two groups.

The larger number in the happy group who have no remembrance of their youthful sex feelings may have experienced them but forgotten them in a happy adjustment of marital relations made in spite of disparities of age.

Sex Feeling in Childhood and Girlhood.—Tables XIII and XIV show the proportions in each entire group who recall sex feelings in childhood and girlhood.

The difference of percentages between the various groups in Table XIII is too small to be significant. In Table XIV it is only possibly significant, but large enough to be suggestive.

All but a very small proportion of our entire group answer definitely "yes" or "no," as to sex practices in childhood. There were 398 who indulged in some sort of practice. Of these, 246, or practically one-quarter of the number, admit masturbation. Two hundred forty-two engaged in sex play; 14 went so far as actually to take part either willingly or unwillingly in sex intercourse, and 29 report other forms of sex practice.

TABLE XIII

SEX FEELING IN CHILDHOOD AND HAPPINESS OF MARRIAGE

Reply	Number				Percentages			
	Entire 1000	Happy 872	Unhappy 116	Happy 116	Entire 1000	Happy 872	Unhappy 116	Happy 116
Yes	461	393	65	54	48.1	47.0	57.5	50.9
No	498	443	48	52	51.9	53.0	42.5	49.1
Total answered	959	836	113	106	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Unanswered	41	36	3	10	.....	.....	.....	.....
Total group	1000	872	116	116	.....	.....	.....	.....

Table XV gives the proportions of the groups under consideration who either masturbated or engaged in sex play. It will be observed that the differences in both cases between the happy and unhappy groups are so slight as to be negligible. The numbers involved in the other two groups of sex practices are obviously too small to consider.

TABLE XIV

SEX FEELING IN GIRLHOOD AND HAPPINESS OF MARRIAGE

Reply	Number				Percentages			
	Entire 1000	Happy 872	Unhappy 116	Happy 116	Entire 1000	Happy 872	Unhappy 116	Happy 116
Yes	369	301	63	51	38.8	36.2	58.3	47.2
No	582	531	45	57	61.2	63.8	41.7	52.8
Total answered	951	832	108	108	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Unanswered	49	40	8	8	.....	.....	.....	.....
Total group	1000	872	116	116	.....	.....	.....	.....

As to the period between the age of 14 and marriage, we have presented in Table XVI the numbers who engaged in the various practices mentioned. The differences between the various groups in the first two practices mentioned are too small to be significant. Under Table XVII, details as to the character of "spooning" are given. Here the number in the unhappy group exceeds that of the corresponding happy group by 13 per cent, a difference large enough to be probably valid.

The number of those who admit sex intercourse prior to marriage is very small, but since we find six times as many in the unhappy group when compared with the happy 116, we can say with some degree of certainty that it is a real difference and in this particular group of well-educated women a real factor of unhappiness.

Finally, from Table XVIII we find that there is apparently an advantage on the side of those who received some general sex instruction. The difference of nearly 13 per cent is large enough to be significant. The instruction which this table summarizes does not include special preparation for the sex side of married life, which will be considered later.

TABLE XV

CORRELATION: SEX PRACTICES IN CHILDHOOD AND HAPPINESS OF MARRIAGE

A. Masturbation During Childhood (up to 14 years)

Reply	Number				Percentages			
	Entire 1000	Happy 872	Unhappy 116	Happy 116	Entire 1000	Happy 872	Unhappy 116	Happy 116
Yes	246	204	40	37	24.9	23.7	34.8	32.7
No	740	655	75	76	75.1	76.3	65.2	67.3
Total answered	986	859	115	113	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Unanswered	14	13	1	3	.....	.....	.....	.....
Total group	1000	872	116	116	.....	.....	.....	.....

B. Sex Play During Childhood (up to 14 years)

Reply	Number				Percentages			
	Entire 1000	Happy 872	Unhappy 116	Happy 116	Entire 1000	Happy 872	Unhappy 116	Happy 116
Yes	242	198	42 *	32 †	24.5	23.0	36.2	28.6
No	744	661	74	80	75.5	77.0	63.8	71.4
Total answered	986	857	116	112	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Unanswered	14	13	.....	4	.....	.....	.....	.....
Total group	1000	872	116	116	.....	.....	.....	.....

* One case only once.
† Three cases only once; two cases only twice.

Conclusions.—So far in our analysis of factors which enter into the happiness of married life, we have found that based on significant differences in the two groups of happy and unhappy, the unhappy are on an average five years older and slightly less well-educated.

In two groups of the same number where age and education are identical, the factors where differences are large enough to be demonstrably significant are health before marriage, general sex instruction before marriage, stability of health after marriage, and the presence of children in the home, all of which make for happiness in married life. Demonstrably significant and apparently militating against the happiness of married life are spooning, sex intercourse before marriage, and occupation outside the home after marriage.

TABLE XVI

SEX PRACTICES FROM 14 YEARS TO MARRIAGE AND HAPPINESS OF MARRIED LIFE

Sex practice	Number				Percentages			
	Entire 1000	Happy 872	Unhappy 116	Happy 116	Entire 1000	Happy 872	Unhappy 116	Happy 116
Masturbation	292	246	44	38	29.2	28.0	37.8	32.7
Emotional relations with other women, with physical expression	157	142	15	16	15.7	16.2	12.8	13.7
Spooning	375	316	56	41	38.5	37.1	50.4	36.9
Sex intercourse	71	50	18	3	7.1	5.6	15.2	2.5

Of possible significance is the fact that in the happy marriages the age of both husband and wife at time of marriage is somewhat greater than in the unhappy group. The percentage of those who recollect sex feeling in girlhood is greater in the unhappy group and possibly significant, as is also disparity of age where sex adjustments have not been made or cannot be made.

Where no real differences are demonstrable are the recollection of sex feeling in childhood, sex practices during childhood, masturbation in girlhood, strong sex feeling for other women,

TABLE XVII

SPOONING AND HAPPINESS OF MARRIED LIFE (DETAILS)

Reply	Number				Percentages			
	Entire 1000	Happy 872	Unhappy 116	Happy 116	Entire 1000	Happy 872	Unhappy 116	Happy 116
Ordinary endearments of courtship (*fiancé* only)	208	186	21	21	21.3	21.8	18.9	18.9
Yes *	375	316	56	41	38.5	37.1	50.4	36.9
No	389	349	34	49	40.0	41.0	30.6	44.1
Total answering	972	851	111	111	99.8	99.9	99.9	99.9
Unanswered	28	21	5	5	....	....	....	....
Total group	1000	872	116	116	....	....	....	....
Details								
Unspecified	11	9	2	1	....	....	....	....
"Not far"	21	20	1	...	....	....	....	....
Kissing only	50	44	6	5	....	....	....	....
Hugging and kissing	104	85	19	18	....	....	....	....
Hugging, kissing, and fondling	45	40	4	8				
Intimate fondling	95	85	10	7	39.5	38.4	44.4	22.5
Intimate fondling, including sex intercourse	49	33	14	2				
Total	375	316	56	41				

* Excludes those who indulged in ordinary endearments of courtship with *fiancé* only.
† This refers to the 375 women answering affirmatively the question of spooning.

with or without physical expression, and occupation before marriage.

We must emphasize the fact that it is not safe to draw general deductions from this study. The numbers considered are too small and the group is selective. The study does, however, raise important questions and points out the necessity for further study in many directions.

In the following chapter we shall consider the happiness of married life in relation to its sex side.

TABLE XVIII

GENERAL SEX INSTRUCTION AND HAPPINESS OF MARRIED LIFE

Sex instruction	Numbers		Percentages	
	Unhappy 116	Happy 116	Unhappy 116	Happy 116
No instruction	66	50	56.9	44.2
Some instruction	50	63	43.1	55.8
Total answering	116	113	100.0	100.0
Unanswered	.....	3	.....	.....
Total group	116	116	116	116
Details *				
From mother	11	9	.....	.....
From parents	.....	2	9.4	10.6
From aunt	.....	1	.....	.....
In private school	.....	1	.....	.....
In high school	3	1	.....	.....
In college	22	30	18.9	26.5
In medical college	1	1	.....	.....
In nurses' training school	.....	1	.....	.....
From books	2	2	.....	.....
"Yes"	2	5	.....	.....
"A little"	9	10	.....	.....
Total, some instruction	50	53	.....	.....

* This refers to women answering affirmatively the question of sex instruction.

CHAPTER IV

THE HAPPINESS OF MARRIED LIFE—THE SEX FACTORS

There can be no question as to the growing recognition on the part of educators of the desirability of proper general sex instruction for the young. While there may be as yet no consensus of opinion as to the "what," "when," "how," and "by whom," certain rather definite beliefs are emerging, such as, for example: that the parents are ideally the ones responsible; that the instruction should be continuous, developing with the growing mind and body of the child rather than sporadic or chance; that it should be constructive and should embrace the emotional as well as the physical aspects of life; that in school and college the method should be that of employing the opportunities of the cultural as well as the scientific courses, rather than specialization in a course, say on sex hygiene; that the mere warning against possible undesirable practices is useless, if not positively dangerous; and that, above all, what is most needed both by parents and educators is a sane outlook on all matters pertaining to sex.

Even though in the past instruction on matters of sex has been inadequate, haphazard, often ill-judged and sometimes incorrect, still, when given at the right time in a tactful manner and with a modicum of knowledge the results have, on the whole, been good.

In our study of the lives of married women we found the average age of the group at the time of answering the questionnaire to have been 38 years. This means that their mothers and teachers were of the generation to whom for the most part any discussion of sex was taboo, and yet, as was shown in the

last chapter, in two groups of women of the same age and education, one of which had found marriage a happy institution and the other had not, we saw that nearly 57 per cent of the happy group had received some general sex instruction, while only 44 per cent of the unhappy group had been so instructed, and that the difference in this respect between the two groups was demonstrably significant in its relation to happy marriages.

Of even greater importance is the question of the desirability of special preparation before marriage for the sex side of married life. The answer to this question can come only out of the life experience of a large number of people. Information from 1,000 well-educated women who evidently have given time and thought to the formulation of their statements should be a contribution of some importance to our knowledge of the matter.

Under the heading "Marriage" in our questionnaire, the first question asked was: "Had you been at all adequately prepared by instruction for the sex side of marriage?" Of the 992 who answered this question 554, or 55.8 per cent, replied in the affirmative. In studying the detailed replies to this and the following question two questions of definition arise.

First, what is *adequate* preparation? An inspection of Table I, which presents the main items on which instruction was received, shows that many of the 554 who replied in the affirmative believed that a very meager amount of information was sufficient.

However desirable, a knowledge of birth control seems a rather frail plank to hold to in matrimonial seas, but 52 women seemed to consider this adequate preparation. "The duty of a wife to submit herself to her husband," may be biblical but hardly modern. Only five women mentioned this as a satisfactory basis for married life. It may secure peace in the family where the principle is thoroughly learned and followed! These answers, together with those which the table shows were made by one woman only, were probably given by women who failed to note the significance of the word "adequate."

The second matter of definition concerns the meaning of the

TABLE I

MAIN ITEMS OF INSTRUCTION IN PREPARATION FOR SEX SIDE OF MARRIAGE

Concerning nature of sex intercourse	98
Concerning everything essential; "the whole story"	76
Human physiology and anatomy, including sex organs	70
Concerning intercourse, pregnancy and childbirth	59
Concerning birth control measures	52
Concerning frequency of intercourse, desirability of restraint	48
Concerning "nature of man"; his sex necessity; his passion	24
Concerning "general knowledge"; facts of reproduction	21
"Every happy marriage has its sensual side;" the sex act is pure and natural	18
"What to expect;" painful nature of sex act before adjustment	14
Duty of wife to submit to husband	5
That wife also should have pleasure	2
Sex intercourse is for reproduction only	1
Sex intercourse is not for reproduction only	1
Should not prevent conception	1
Horrors of childbirth	1
Danger of venereal disease	1
"Result of improper living"	1
Need of a healthy body	1
"Contribution of the father"	1
High ideals of home life	1
Unanswered	58
Total	554

word *instruction.* Bits of information picked up here and there through gossip or chance reading can hardly be so classed even if correct so far as they go. A number of women, however, discuss these very points. From those who had received instruction but considered it inadequate are the following comments: "The mere knowledge of facts . . . is to my mind, of very little value. More understanding of *sex emotions* is necessary." "I knew nothing about *emotions.*" "Fanciful and involved attempts at explanations by means of birds and flowers did not help." "My books left out the factor of passion. This was a surprise to me after marriage." "Had a thorough scientific knowledge but no *human* knowledge." "Physiology and anatomy were never personal." "Books deal with things as they should be, not as they are."

Table II indicates the answers to the question: "Would a

constructive and frank statement before marriage of the essential facts you discovered in early marriage have helped or harmed you?"

TABLE II

ANSWERS OF THE 438 WHO REPLIED THAT THEY HAD NOT BEEN ADEQUATELY PREPARED FOR THE SEX SIDE OF MARRIAGE

Helped	257
Harmed	29
Neither	44
Preparation unnecessary in their own cases*	12
Information might have delayed marriage	3
Information would have prevented marriage	11
Information would have lessened love	1
Prefer ignorance if husband is considerate	18
Do not know	15
Unanswered	48
Total	438

*Approve instruction in general. In their own cases it was unnecessary because husband was considerate.

Turning now to the second group of 438 who state that they had no preparation for married life, we find that 257, or 58.6 per cent, regret the fact that they went into marriage blindfold as to its relationship and believe that adequate instruction would have helped them in adjusting their lives. Among the comments: Instruction "would have saved years of difficult adjustment"; "It would have kept me from misjudging my husband and avoided years of unhappiness for us both." One raises the question, "Why should not *husbands* be taught more?" Still another to whom married relations came as a great shock speaks of "the terrific contrast to the beauty of the religious ceremony" which had preceded them. Twelve others believe theoretically in preparatory instruction, but say it was unnecessary in their own cases because of the consideration shown them by the men they married. Eighteen others *prefer* ignorance with the large "if" of consideration on the husband's part in relation to their sex life. At least one of the writers in spite of her preference believes that it is dangerous to take the chance. Although in her own case the outcome was happy she writes:

"My own experience was so perfect I would not have had it different. If I could be sure my daughters would have the same experience I should prefer them to be ignorant. The risk is too great, however."

Only 29, or 6.6 per cent, feel that special preparation would have actually harmed them. Eleven others go so far as to say that had they known what to expect they would never have married. In spite of this feeling eight of the eleven have been able so to adjust themselves that they consider their marriages happy.

Table III is arranged in the order of number of times each source of instruction is mentioned. Many mention two or three sources—"Mother and college course"; "Married sister and books"; "Books and *fiancé*"; "Married friend and social-hygiene lectures." Although "teacher" is mentioned only once, the personality of the teacher in the "college courses" is undoubtedly the important factor. These courses are criticized by those who feel they did not benefit, as "too indefinite"; "no application to humans"; "scientific but leaving out any question of *feeling*"; "omitted the most vital parts." One gathers that the teachers

TABLE III

SOURCE OF INSTRUCTION IN PREPARATION FOR MARRIAGE

From mother	187
From books and pamphlets	183
From sister and other relatives, or married friends	152
From college courses	102
From *fiancé*	77
From physician	50
From social-hygiene lectures	42
From medical training*	30
From "numberless sources"	8
From teacher	1

* Twenty-six of these received their M.D. degree and practiced medicine.

themselves were in many instances still suffering from inhibitions on sex subjects, or presented them in an untactful manner which some found actually offensive.

On the other hand, the courses given in certain colleges receive

high praise. As the most helpful preparation for marriage the following quotation is one of a number which commend the teaching of a certain college professor whose personality has made her a factor for helpfulness in the lives of many women:

> At the close of my college course at ——— the senior class was given a course of lectures by the college physician. Attendance was entirely voluntary. The lectures were given because of the physician's high sense of duty and privilege. They were clear, scientific explanations of the processes of menstruation, conception, pregnancy and childbirth, as well as some points about the feeding and care of babies. I think I had all the information that was good for me, and I think that aside from my mother's earlier instructions at such times as she saw the ripe moment, this series of lectures given by a high-minded woman, a member of the medical profession, in a motherly way, was the best possible means of my obtaining the information.

Mothers as instructors were not infrequently even more unfortunate than the college professors who were unfavorably criticized. Sometimes impressions were created not so much by what was said directly as by chance words let drop unconsciously, as in the case of the woman who writes: "I think mother gave me an abnormal idea of men by her own sex attitude. . . . I thought most men must be beasts." Another uses almost the same words: "My mother had taught me that men were chiefly animals." One woman who states that she was prepared for marriage (she belongs to the group listed in Table I as "knew what to expect"), says: "My mother taught me what to expect. The necessity of yielding to her husband's demands had been a great cross in her own life."

Taking their own statements as to the adequacy of their preparations, what relation has this to the happiness of married life?

If we compare the unhappy 116 either with the total happy group of 872 or the group of 116 of the same age and education, we find the difference in the percentages of those who received instruction is so large as to be certainly significant and that proper preparation is a factor for happiness.[1]

[1] The difference between those who were instructed in the unhappy and happy groups of 116 is 1.3 per cent. The error or standard deviation of the difference

TABLE IV

ADEQUATE PREPARATION FOR THE SEX SIDE OF MARRIAGE AND HAPPINESS OF MARRIED LIFE

Reply	Number				Percentages			
	Entire 1000	Happy 872	Unhappy 116	Happy 116	Entire 1000	Happy 872	Unhappy 116	Happy 116
Yes	554	504	44	65	55.8	58.1	38.2	57.5
No	438	362	71	48	44.1	41.7	61.7	42.4
Total answered	992	866	115	113	99.9	99.8	99.9	99.9
Unanswered	8	6	1	3	....	....	....	....
Total group	1000	872	116	116	....	....	....	....

We come now to the vitally important question of the reactions to the way in which married relations came into the experiences of our one thousand women. Question 3 of the section on marriage asks: "Were you attracted or repelled by the manner in which married sex relations came into your experience?"

TABLE V

ATTRACTED OR REPELLED BY WAY MARRIED RELATIONS CAME INTO EXPERIENCE AND HAPPINESS OF MARRIED LIFE

Reply	Number				Percentages			
	Entire 1000	Happy 872	Unhappy 116	Happy 116	Entire 1000	Happy 872	Unhappy 116	Happy 116
Attracted	431	400	28	54	46.5	49.6	25.2	52.9
Repelled	237	191	42	27	25.6	23.7	37.8	26.4
Both	34	24	9	4	3.6	2.9	8.1	3.8
Neither	223	190	32	17	24.1	23.6	28.8	16.6
Total answered	925	805	111	102	99.8	99.8	99.9	99.7
Unanswered	75	67	5	14	....	....	....	....
Total group	1000	872	116	116	....	....	....	....

We find from Table V that the percentage of those in the happy group of 116 who were attracted is a little over twice as

is 6.4 per cent, or one-third the difference in percentages. There is only one chance in infinity that this difference is not significant.

great as in the corresponding unhappy group. The difference is so large that its significance is absolutely certain.[1]

Is there any relationship between preparation for the sex side of married life and the way in which married relations came into their experiences? To answer this the correlations were worked out which are presented in Table VI.

Comparing in the entire group the percentages of the instructed and uninstructed who were attracted by the marriage relation, we find a difference so large as to be certainly significant.[2] The division of the happy and unhappy groups of 116 into the four types of reaction makes the numbers too small to admit of mathematical comparison. The differences in numbers, however, taken in conjunction with those in the previous tables make a very positive trend in the direction of adequate preparation, the attractiveness of the sex relationship, and happiness of marriage.

It will be noted from Table V that in nearly a quarter of our cases the women replying could not answer the question: "Were you attracted or repelled by the way in which married sex relations came into your experience?" in terms of the question itself, but replied "neither." Of these, 173 said that they "took it as a matter of fact"—something that every married woman had to go through with, regardless of her feelings. The other 50 qualified the "neither" with the following adjectives: Amused, 1; astonished, 8; bewildered, 3; disappointed, 7; frightened, 8; indifferent, 8; indignant, 1; interested, 5; relieved (that it was no worse), 1; resigned, 3; shocked, 1; sorry, 1; stunned, 1; submissive, 2.

The comments of the women who were attracted cannot be quoted here, but in general they emphasized the spiritual or emotional agreement—the "mental unity," as one puts it—which accompanied physical pleasure. Over and over again in this group are stressed the unselfishness, consideration, and self-control of the husband. Just the opposite qualities are most

[1] The difference of percentages, 27.7, is more than four times 6.4, the standard deviation of the difference.

[2] The difference of percentages is 17.7, over five times the standard deviation of the difference, which is 3.2.

TABLE VI

CORRELATION: PREPARATION FOR THE SEX SIDE OF MARRIED LIFE AND THE WAY IN WHICH IT CAME INTO EXPERIENCE

Reply	Number										Percentages									
	Instructed				Uninstructed				Unanswered as to Instruction				Instructed				Uninstructed			
	Entire 1000	Happy 872	Unhappy 116	Happy 116	Entire 1000	Happy 872	Unhappy 116	Happy 116	Entire 1000	Happy 872	Unhappy 116	Happy 116	Entire 1000	Happy 872	Unhappy 116	Happy 116	Entire 1000	Happy 872	Unhappy 116	Happy 116
Attracted	283	268	12	36	147	131	16	17	1	1	....	1	54.3	56.6	27.9	62.0	36.6	39.6	23.8	39.5
Repelled	92	78	13	16	145	113	29	11	....	....	....	....	17.6	16.4	30.2	27.5	36.1	34.2	43.2	25.5
Both	26	21	5	1	8	3	4	3	....	....	....	....	4.7	4.4	11.6	1.7	1.9	0.9	5.9	6.9
Neither	120	106	13	5	101	83	18	12	2	1	1	2	23.0	22.4	30.2	8.6	25.1	25.1	26.8	27.9
Total unanswered	521	473	43	58	401	330	67	43	3	2	1	3	99.6	99.8	99.9	99.8	99.7	99.8	99.7	99.8
Unanswered	33	31	1	7	37	32	4	5	5	4	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....
Total group	554	504	44	65	438	362	71	48	8	6	1	3	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....

often emphasized in the other group. The wife ignorant, unprepared, shocked at the strength of her husband's passion; the husband unable to realize this, inconsiderate, uncontrolled; a long period of adjustment—and if this fails, unhappiness for both.

Tables VII to X inclusive deal with intimate details of the marriage relationship. Question 9 of section D asks: "Have you found your married relations pleasurable, neutral or distasteful? (a) In earliest period? (b) Middle period? (c) Later period?

Table VII gives the results. We have divided the answers into three groups based on initial experiences. In the fourth group we placed the 47 cases which could not be otherwise classified. Comparing Tables V and VII we find that the categories "attracted," "repelled," "neither," are not coextensive with "pleasurable," "distasteful," and "neutral." Some women who are classed under "neither" in Table V, say "pleasurable" in answer to question 9. Some who replied "repelled," describe the marriage relation itself as "neutral," while a few who replied "attracted" as to the way the experience came into their lives, still found no pleasurable feeling in the act itself, particularly at first.

An examination of percentages given in Table VII shows striking differences in the happy and unhappy groups of 116. While 60 per cent of the former found their marriage relations pleasurable during their entire married life, only 15 per cent of the latter found this true. The difference of percentages of those who found it pleasurable at the beginning is not so great. In both instances it is large enough to be certainly significant. If we compare the percentages of those who found married relationships distasteful in the early days, or those who found it so at the time of filling out the questionnaire, in either case the difference is so great as to be certainly significant.

It may be asked whether in these cases marriages are unhappy *because* marriage relationships have been found distasteful, or is the distaste a result of unhappiness? In Table V this consideration does not enter, since the question there is of the

TABLE VII

MARRIED RELATIONS PLEASURABLE OR OTHERWISE AND HAPPINESS OF MARRIED LIFE

Reply	Number				Percentages			
	Entire 1000	Happy 872*	Unhappy 116	Happy 116	Entire 1000	Happy 872*	Unhappy 116	Happy 116
A. Grouped According to Reaction to Initial Experience								
I. Pleasurable entire married life	476	454	18	70	47.9	52.5	15.5	60.8
Pleasurable or neutral entire married life	45	42	3	3				
Pleasurable—occasionally distasteful	9	7	2					
Pleasurable changing to neutral	58	49	9	9				
Pleasurable—neutral—pleasurable	10	9	1	3				
Pleasurable—neutral—distasteful	22	11	10	3				
Pleasurable changing to distasteful	30	16	14	2				
Pleasurable—distasteful—neutral	5	4						
Total, pleasurable at first	655	592	57	90	65.9	68.3	49.1	78.2
II. Neutral entire married life	60	54	4	1	6.0	6.2	3.4	.8
Neutral or distasteful entire married life	11	11						
Neutral changing to pleasurable	81	71	10	5				
Neutral changing to distasteful	8	1	7	1				
Neutral—pleasurable—neutral	1	1						
Neutral—pleasurable—distasteful	6	4	2	2				
Total, neutral at first	167	142	23	9	16.8	16.3	19.8	7.8
III. Distasteful entire married life	35	16	18	4	3.5	1.8	15.5	3.4
Distasteful changing to pleasurable	25	25		5				
Distasteful changing to neutral	31	28	3	3				
Distasteful—pleasurable—neutral	5	4	1	2				
Distasteful—pleasurable—distasteful	3	3						
Distasteful—neutral—pleasurable	25	20	5					
Total, distasteful at first	124	96	27	14	12.4	11.0	23.2	12.1
IV. All three at times, total	47	36	9	2	4.7	4.1	7.7	1.7
Total answered	993	866	116	115	99.8	99.7	99.8	99.8
Unanswered	5	4		1				
No sex relations during entire married life	2	2						
Total group	1000	872	116	116				
B. Grouped According to Reaction at Time of Filling Out Questionnaire								
I. Pleasurable	617	579	34	83	62.1	66.8	29.3	72.1
II. Neutral	160	140	17	15	16.1	16.1	14.6	13.0
III. Distasteful	104	51	51	12	10.4	5.8	43.9	10.4
IV. Impossible to classify in this particular	112	96	14	5				
Total answered	993	866	116	115				

* Of the twelve who failed to answer as to happiness, four found the marriage relation pleasurable during entire married life; two found it neutral; one, distasteful; one, pleasurable, distasteful and neutral; one, pleasurable, neutral and distasteful; two, all three at times; and one did not answer.

entrance into experience. The same thing holds in Table VII as to the *initial* experiences. With changes in feeling during the years following, the case is different, as a study of the various records shows. There is no uncertainty in those instances where a husband becomes unfaithful, alcoholic, or insane. Physical and mental distaste for sex relations are consequences of these conditions, and unhappiness is the result of both. In many special cases only a follow-up, impossible in our method of anonymous replies, would be able to determine cause and effect.

Question 11, section D, asks: "Can you compare your sex impulses and satisfactions, in degree of intensity, with those of your husband?" This question has been criticized on the ground of the impossibility of making a comparison of our own sensations with those of any other human being for the reason that we cannot get inside his skin! This view of our critics seems to have occurred to only 25 women out of the entire 1,000, as a glance at Table VIII will show, and practically one half of these are in the unhappy group.

TABLE VIII

CORRELATION: DEGREE OF INTENSITY OF SEX IMPULSES COMPARED WITH HUSBAND'S, AND HAPPINESS OF MARRIED LIFE

Reply	Number				Percentages			
	Entire 1000	Happy 872 *	Unhappy 116	Happy 116	Entire 1000	Happy 872 *	Unhappy 116	Happy 116
Cannot compare	25	13	12	9	2.5	1.5	10.7	7.9
About the same	300	276	23	40	31.1	32.7	20.5	35.3
Husband's greater	600	532	59	61	62.2	63.1	52.6	53.9
Wife's greater	33	19	14	3	3.4	2.2	12.5	2.7
Indefinite "Yes"	6	2	4	.....	.6	.2	3.5	....
Total answered	964	842	112	113	99.8	99.7	99.8	99.8
Unanswered	36	30	4	3	....	....	....	....
Total group	1000	872	116	116	....	....	....	....

* Of the twelve who failed to answer as to happiness, nine said husband's sex impulse was greater, one, impulses about the same; and two did not answer.

It will be noted in Table VIII that in the two groups of unhappy and happy 116, over half—59 and 61 women respectively—approximately the same number in each group, say that

their husbands' intensity and satisfaction are the greater. The wife's is greater in the unhappy group, 12.5 per cent to 2.7 per cent, while of those who believe it about the same, the more numerous are in the happy group, in the proportion of 35.3 to 20.5. In both cases the difference is great enough to be certainly significant.

Women are probably able to compare more easily their frequency of desire with that of their husbands.

In Table IX only 12 of the entire number express themselves as unable to make the comparison, the number who leave the question unanswered being about the same in Tables VIII and IX. While there is a greater difference of percentages between the greater frequency of husband's desire in the happy and unhappy groups than there is in the greater intensity of desire, it is not enough to be certainly significant. It is, however, *possibly* significant. With intensity of desire the difference of the two groups was 9.8 where the wife's was greater. In frequency of desire the wife's is the more frequent in the unhappy as compared with the happy group by 14.2 per cent—a difference certainly significant. As with intensity, so with frequency—where it is about the same the difference is 22.5 per cent in favor of the happy group—again certainly significant.

TABLE IX

FREQUENCY OF DESIRE OF HUSBAND COMPARED WITH THAT OF WIFE AND HAPPINESS OF MARRIED LIFE

Reply	Number				Percentages			
	Entire 1000	Happy 872 *	Unhappy 116	Happy 116	Entire 1000	Happy 872 *	Unhappy 116	Happy 116
Cannot compare	12	12	...	2	1.3	1.4	....	1.8
About the same	290	270	19	43	29.9	32.0	16.9	39.4
Husband's more frequent	624	542	73	62	64.4	64.0	65.1	56.8
Wife's more frequent	40	22	18	2	4.1	2.3	16.0	1.8
Indefinite "Yes"	2	...	2	...	.2	....	1.7	....
Total answered	868	846	112	109	99.9	99.7	99.7	99.8
Unanswered	32	26	4	7	....	....	....	....
Total group	1000	872	116	116	....	....	....	....

* Of the twelve who failed to answer as to happiness, nine said husband's desire was more frequent; one, about the same; and two failed to answer.

Question 13 of section D deals with frequency of sex intercourse, and considers both the early days of marriage and later life together. Inasmuch as it is obvious that as time goes on complications of various sorts that affect happiness enter into the situation, for the purposes of correlation with happiness we shall consider here only the early years of married life.

A study of Table X results in finding only two points at which differences of percentages in the two groups are great enough to be certainly significant when treated mathematically: For the reply "More than once a day," 7.3 per cent more in the unhappy than in the happy group answered in the affirmative. Where

TABLE X

FREQUENCY OF SEX INTERCOURSE IN EARLY YEARS OF MARRIAGE AND HAPPINESS OF MARRIED LIFE

Reply	Number				Percentages			
	Entire 1000	Happy 872 *	Unhappy 116	Happy 116	Entire 1000	Happy 872 *	Unhappy 116	Happy 116
More than once a day	19	10	9	1	1.9	1.1	8.1	.8
Once a day	71	59	11	13	7.3	6.9	9.9	11.5
Over twice, less than seven times a week	305	277	28	31	31.4	32.4	25.2	27.6
Once or twice a week	391	346	43	38	40.2	40.5	38.7	33.6
One to three times a month	125	116	7	20	12.8	13.5	6.3	17.6
"Often" or "frequently"	22	16	5	3	2.2	1.8	4.5	2.6
"Seldom" or "infrequently"	38	30	8	7	3.8	3.5	7.2	6.1
Total answered	971	854	111	113	99.6	99.6	99.9	99.7
None in early years	8	6	1	...	....	....	....	....
Unanswered	21	12	4	3	....	....	....	....
Total group	1000	872	116	116	....	....	....	....

* Of the twelve who failed to answer as to happiness, one said once a day; two, once or twice a week; two, 1 to 3 times a week; one, "often"; one, none in early years; and five failed to answer.

relations are had "one to three times a month" the difference is 11.3 per cent in favor of the happy group. The numbers are small, but certainly indicate a trend.

It will be noted that the mode or number of greatest frequency in all groups is "once or twice a week," though lowest in the group of happy 116.

In our chapter on the Use of Contraceptives, we made various

correlations, but none with the happiness of married life. This correlation we present in Table XI.

It will be observed that the differences between the happy and unhappy groups are so slight as to be negligible. A considerable amount of information was given in answer to the

TABLE XI

CORRELATION: USE OF CONTRACEPTIVES AND HAPPINESS OF MARRIED LIFE

Reply	Number				Percentages			
	Entire 1000	Happy 872	Unhappy 116	Happy 116	Entire 1000	Happy 872	Unhappy 116	Happy 116
Used	730	647	79	80	74.1	75.1	69.9	70.1
Did not use	225	214	34	34	25.8	24.8	30.0	29.8
Total answered	985	861	113	114	99.9	99.9	99.9	99.9
Unanswered	15	11	3	2	....	....	....	....
Total group	1000	872	116	116	....	....	....	....

questions concerning intercourse during pregnancy. In Table XII we summarize that which seems pertinent to the present inquiry.

The differences between the happy and the unhappy group are too small to be significant.

Table XIII shows the proportion in each group who had used abortion. It will be observed that 16 per cent more of the unhappy group have resorted to abortion than in the corresponding happy group, a difference large enough to be certainly significant. In the majority of cases in the happy group it was used by order of the physician to save the life of the mother.

SUMMARY.—We are able to show that for the group under consideration preparation for the sex side of married life is a factor making for married happiness; that there is a correlation between preparation and the attractiveness of the married relationship itself as it comes into experience; that when these first experiences are attractive there is a greater chance for subsequent happiness. There is, as might be expected, a greater chance for happiness where the original experience was pleasur-

TABLE XII

INTERCOURSE DURING PREGNANCY AND HAPPINESS OF MARRIED LIFE

Reply	Number				Percentages			
	Entire 1000	Happy 872 *	Unhappy 116	Happy 116	Entire 1000	Happy 872 *	Unhappy 116	Happy 116
No	96	85	9	10	11.6	12.0	10.1	10.4
Yes—entire period	211	178	32	29	25.6	24.5	35.9	30.2
Yes—part of period †	497	442	48	57	60.4	60.9	53.9	59.3
Yes—unanswered as to time	18	18	...	...	2.1	2.4	....	....
Total answered	822	723	89	96	99.7	99.8	99.9	99.9
Never pregnant	163	143	19	14	....	....	....	....
Unanswered	15	6	8	6	....	....	....	....
Total group	1000	872	116	116	....	....	....	....

* Of the twelve who failed to answer as to happiness, two said "no"; one said "yes" for entire period; seven "yes" for a part of the period; one was never pregnant; and one did not answer.

† Period varies from a few weeks to seven or eight months.

TABLE XIII

USE OF ABORTION AND HAPPINESS OF MARRIED LIFE

Reply	Number				Percentages			
	Entire 1000	Happy 872 *	Unhappy 116	Happy 116	Entire 1000	Happy 872 *	Unhappy 116	Happy 116
Used abortion	93	67	22	8	11.2	9.1	24.1	8.1
Did not use	733	658	69	90	88.8	90.9	75.9	91.9
Total answered	826	725	91	98	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Never pregnant	163	143	19	14	.....	.....	.....	.....
Unanswered	11	4	6	4	.....	.....	.....	.....
Total group	1000	872	116	116	.....	.....	.....	.....

* Of the twelve who failed to answer as to happiness, four had used abortions; six had not; one did not answer; and one was never pregnant.

able, and four times as many of the happy group as of the unhappy have found these sex relations so during their entire married life. On the other hand, at the time of filling out the questionnaire more than four times as many of the unhappy group as of the happy group found them distasteful. Where the husband's intensity and frequency of desire are greater than those of the wife, there seems to be about an even chance for happiness. Something over 50 per cent of cases in both groups

belong to this class. Where frequency and intensity of desire of both husband and wife are approximately equal the chances are greater that they will be happy than unhappy. Where the wife's desires are greater we find the higher percentage in the unhappy group.

Little difference exists between the two groups in the frequency of sex intercourse in the early years of married life. As has been pointed out, at two points only is there a difference sufficiently large to be significant, and in these, the absolute numbers under consideration are very small. A trend, however, is indicated in both cases.

No relationship can be shown between the use of contraceptives and the happiness of married life. On the other hand, abortion is about three times as frequent in the unhappy group. No differences large enough to be significant exist between the two groups in relation to intercourse during pregnancy.

Due to the many and varied factors which enter into human happiness, the limited and selective character of our entire group, the fairly homogeneous intellectual status, and the identity of age in individuals composing the special groups we have been comparing, it will be necessary to study numerous other groups before it will be safe to make any general application of our results.

CHAPTER V

THE BACKGROUND OF THE UNMARRIED GROUP

As in the case of the married women, we present here some straight tables in answer to questions in Section A of the unmarried women's questionnaire which will orient the reader as to the type of woman studied. The tables are compiled for the entire 1,200 women whose replies were used in Chapters X and XII. The reason for the addition of 200 cases is explained later in Chapter X. The studies presented in Chapters VI and VIII were made at an earlier date. We found that the resulting changes in percentages in these instances were insignificant.

As will be observed, the questions asked, and hence the tables, for the unmarried differ in some particulars from those relating to the married group. This was partly the result of the special circumstance of marriage and partly because of desire for other facts.

Age

The range of age is less than in the case of the married women, 46 years as against 62. The average age of the unmarried at time of reply, 36.8 years, is a year and a half younger than that of the married.

The percentage at 35 years and younger is 55.6 among the unmarried and 47.2 among the married. The mode or age at which the greatest number replied was thirty years in both groups.

Education

Table II shows the type of institution in which undergraduate work was done. It will be observed that a high percentage graduated from a woman's college.

The ages at entrance show that at least three infant prodigies are included in our group, one woman stating that she entered at 13 years and 2 at 14.

TABLE I

COLLEGE WOMEN

SUMMARY OF 1200 CASES

Age

Age	Number	Age	Number
22	3	47	24
23	4	48	27
24	8	49	18
25	8	50	16
26	23	51	13
27	58	52	22
28	79	53	15
29	73	54	7
30	109	55	8
31	64	56	12
32	77	57	4
33	59	58	3
34	58	59	6
35	43	60	10
36	43	61	3
37	37	62	2
38	33	63	1
39	34	64	1
40	28	65	4
41	26	66	3
42	33	68	1
43	21	Unanswered	4
44	26		
45	23	Total	1200
46	26		

Range, 22 to 68
Mode, 30
Average, 36.8
Thirty-five years and under = 55.6 per cent of 1196

The average age at entrance was 18.7 years and at graduation 22.7 years.

Type of College

TABLE II

Where graduated	No.	Per cent
Women's college	813	68.0
Coed. university	333	27.9
Both (undergraduate work)	49	4.1
Answered	1195	100.0
Unanswered	5	
Total	1200	

AGE AT ENTRANCE

Age	Cases	Age	Cases
13 years	1	26 years	9
14 years	2	27 years	5
15 years	9	28 years	7
16 years	76	29 years	5
17 years	233	30 years	7
18 years	440	32 years	2
19 years	215	34 years	2
20 years	79	35 years	1
21 years	36	36 years	1
22 years	24	40 years	2
23 years	10	Not given	11
24 years	13		
25 years	10	Total	1200

Youngest 13
Oldest 40
Average 18.7

Subjects of Graduate Work

As is shown in Table III, the subjects covered by those of our group who did graduate work is almost as broad as the field of human knowledge! Not all led to degrees; 817 individuals studied in at least 22 different fields, many of them working in two or even more subjects,

TABLE III

SUBJECTS OF GRADUATE STUDY

Archeology	2
Arts	20
Bible	4
Classics	38
Economics	43
Education	135
English	158
Ethics	2
History	85
Household arts, etc	26
Languages	119
Literature	7
Logic	1
Mathematics	33
Philosophy	28
Philology	8
Political science	13
Professional study (other than teaching)	167
Public health	5
Religion	1
Sciences	190
Sociology	66

As shown in this table, the 1,200 women answering our questionnaire represent a very wide field of interests and would seem fairly typical in this respect of college women as a whole.

If we had used the subdivisions of such subjects as "science" where 21 different sciences are named, or "professional study," ranging from accounting and agriculture through law, library science, and medicine to salesmanship and theology, the list would be more impressive.

The graduate work of many of the 617 engaged in education as teachers or executives consisted in many instances of courses taken at the summer schools connected with our universities.

Not all of those who did graduate work took additional degrees.

Additional Degrees

Table IV shows that our 1,200 women have among them 403 degrees or diplomas in addition to their original bachelors of arts or science.

TABLE IV

DEGREES OR DIPLOMAS ADDITIONAL TO THE A.B. OR B.S. DEGREES

B.D.—Bachelor of Divinity	1
B.L.S.—Bachelor of Library Science	5
B.S.*—Bachelor of Science	18
D.O.—Doctor of Osteopathy	1
D.Sc.—Doctor of Science	1
Diploma de la Sorbonne	2
E.M.—Mining Engineer	1
Ed.M.—Master of Education	1
J.D.—Doctor of Jurisprudence	1
LL.B.—Bachelor of Law	1
L.H.D.—Doctor of Humanities	1
M.A.—Master of Arts	234
M.D.—Doctor of Medicine	31
M.L.—Master of Law	2
M.S.—Master of Science	15
Pd.B.—Bachelor of Pedagogy	1
Ph.B.—Bachelor of Philosophy	2
Ph.D—Doctor of Philosophy	60
Ph.M.—Master of Philosophy	4
S.T.B.—Bachelor of Theology	1
Diplomas from schools of nursing	19
Certificate from unspecified professional school	1
Total	403

*Additional to A.B.

It is to be noted, however, that these degrees are held only by 355 women, since 48 have taken two degrees apiece as follows:

A.M. and Ph.D	43
A.M. and L.H.D	1
A.M. and Pd.B	1
A.M. and M.D	2
M.S. and Ph.D	1
Total	48

Eighteen women, all having received A.B. degree, but who decided to continue in science, did graduate work in science sufficient to obtain the B.S.

Residence in Early Life

The question as to residence in early life was inserted in response to requests from persons interested in sex education

who felt that young persons brought up in the country had a better opportunity of observation, on a perfectly natural and normal basis, as to how life begins and hence possibly a better adjustment as to human sex relations.

TABLE V

RESIDENCE—EARLY LIFE

Unanswered	4
Country	301
Country in summer	74
Town	404
City	364
City suburbs	35
Foreign travel	1
City—country—traveling usually	1
Country—city	6
Country—town	8
Country—city—town	2
Total	1200

Table V shows the answer to the question, "Was your early life spent in country—town—city?"

No correlations of these answers with others have as yet been made.

Table VI presents the data as to general health in four periods of life.

Health

Table VI is of great importance in view of frequent discussion as to the effect of college education on health.

So far as the reports go of the 1,200 women whose histories are used in this study are concerned, the table shows a steady increase in good and excellent health through college and after.

Mental health is quite as important as physical. We have no results of examinations by psychiatrists to show. But we offer the women's own statements on two points, inclination to worry and nervous breakdowns.

Of those who reply in the affirmative 34 say that they have overcome it and 29 that they are outgrowing it. Of those who

TABLE VI

GENERAL HEALTH

	Childhood		Adolescence		College		Since college	
	No.	Per cent	No.	Per cent	No.	Per cent	No.	Per cent
Poor or very poor	106	8.8	65	5.4	53	4.4	58	4.8
Fair	297	24.8	273	22.8	225	18.7	218	18.1
Good	368	30.5	450	37.6	449	37.5	450	37.5
Excellent	426	35.9	408	34.2	470	39.4	473	39.6
Answered	1197	100.0	1196	100.0	1197	100.0	1199	100.0
Unanswered	3	.....	4	.....	3	.....	1	.....
Total	1200	.....	1200	.....	1200	.....	1200	.....
Good, excellent	794	66.4	858	71.8	919	76.9	923	77.1

TABLE VII

INCLINED TO WORRY

	No.	%
Yes	382	32.0
A little, somewhat Not much, slightly	233	19.5
No	576	48.5
Answered	1191	100.0
Unanswered	9	
Total group	1200	

TABLE VIII

NERVOUS BREAKDOWN

	No.	%
No breakdown	810	68.1
Near breakdown	142	11.9
Breakdowns	239	20.0
Answered	1191	100.0
Unanswered	9	
Total	1200	

reply in the negative 4 say that worry is decreasing and 1 that she worries only periodically.

It will be noted that only 48.5 per cent—that is, less than half—disclaim any tendency to worry. That worry and nervous breakdown did not always go together is shown in Table VIII, where 20 per cent admit breakdowns—*i.e.*, necessity of discontinuing work for longer or shorter periods on account of nervous conditions.

This seems a pretty high per cent, but we have nothing with which to compare it. No similar question was asked of the married women.

Occupation

Table IX presents the list of gainful occupations in which the women were engaged at time of reply.

One hundred and eight women reported that they were not so engaged, but of these only 53 had never worked for money.

More than half of the entire group—*i.e.*, 617—were engaged in educational work either as teachers or as administrators.

The next largest group is that of the social workers.

The wide range of occupations covered is of great interest.

As to salaries earned, although the question was asked, it is difficult to give a fair picture. A considerable number, especially among the teachers, add to their salaries amounts for maintenance which vary greatly in different institutions.

One individual only reports as much as $17,000, one $10,000, one $9,000, and one $8,000 annual salary or income.

The largest group is of those earning from $2,000 to $3,000 annually. Only one hundred and four individuals are in the $3,000 to $5,000 inclusive class.

It should be recalled, however, that these reports were made nearly five years ago and there has been some increase in salaries all along the line. The figures can hardly be taken as representing salaries in the various occupations at the present time.

Recreations

To understand the personality of people one must know something of how they prefer to use their leisure time. The question,

TABLE IX

GAINFUL OCCUPATION

Occupation	Number	Occupation	Number
Unanswered	13	Insurance	1
No occupation [a]	108	Investments	1
Actress	1	Laboratory work	5
Acting and secretary work	1	Laboratory and secretary work	1
Advertising	5	Lawyer	3
Adviser of pre-school children	1 *	Librarian	51
Agriculturist	1	Literary work	3
Architect	1	Manager inherited business	1
Artist	2	Manager speakers' bureau	1
Assistant bank cashier	1	Mathematical work	1
Bacteriologist	2	Medical social service	1
Bank clerk	1	Missionary (home)	2
Banking	3	Missionary	1
Bookkeeper	3	Museum assistant	1
Book publishing	1	Newspaper work	5
Bookshop, work in	1	Nurse	19
Business unspecified	18	Office executive	1
Chemist	4	Office work	9
Child care	1	Office and university work	1
Christian Science practitioner	1	Organizing libraries	1
Church visitor	1	Osteopath	1
Clerical work	10	Personnel research	1
Commercial art	1	Personnel work	2
Curator	1	Physician	24
Dietitian	3	Physiotherapy	2
Dispensary work	1	Psychol. work	4
Druggist	1	Public health work	5
Editor	3	Publicity work	2
Editorial work	3	Reconstruction aide in occupational therapy in the army	1
Educational director in department store	1 *	Red Cross work	1
Educational work in department store	1 *	Registrar (college)	1 *
Educational executive	5 *	Religious education	4 *
Employment manager	3	Research unspecified	2
Executive, unspecified	3	Astronomical research	1
Farmer	12	Business research	1
Financial executive	1	Economic research	1
Girl Scout director	1	Research in Plant Pathology	1
Government service	1	Saleswoman, unspecified	1
Home demonstration agent	1	Bond saleswoman	1
Home economics (head of department)	1 *	Book saleswoman	1
Housekeeper	2	Retail selling	1
		Scientist	1
		Secretary	54

[a] At time of reply.

TABLE IX (*continued*)

GAINFUL OCCUPATION

Occupation	Number	Occupation	Number
Secretary Mission Board	1	Tea-room work	1
Selling ads	1	Tea-room manager	1
"Several"	4	Treasurer business company	1
Social work	96	Translator	1
Psychological social work	3	Tutor	1 *
Statistician	1	University extension work	1
Stenographer	7	Vocation guidance	1
Superintendent of schools	1 *	Writer	4
Supervisor Americanization work	1	Writing and editorial work	1
Teacher	601 [b]	Writing and theater	1
Teaching and business	1	Y. W. C. A.	20
Teaching and social work	2	Total	1200
Technician	1		

[b] Together with those occupations starred, 617 are engaged in educational work.

"What are your chief interests outside your occupation?" was asked to help give us our background. Table X presents a summary of the answers.

Were we to give the complete list, the table would be unnecessarily long for present purposes. For example, under "outdoor sports" 23 varieties are named in addition to the inclusive title. "Social betterment" includes all the modern welfare classification. "Research" names most possible fields, etc.

Only 20 women say they have no outside interests.

One woman says "my cat," 2 say their "clothes." Three say "love affairs," and two very frankly say "looking for a husband."

Only fifty women fail to reply.

Life as a Whole

It is with some hesitation that we present Table XI.

Happiness and satisfaction with life as a whole is purely a matter of personal definition.

Success, taking into account in part at least the result, financial and otherwise, of occupation, possibly may be more definitely evaluated.

TABLE X

CHIEF INTERESTS OUTSIDE OCCUPATION *

Reading	589
Outdoor sports or activities	565
Social contacts of all sorts	334
Music	312
Drama	227
Social betterment	193
Religion, church, missionary, etc	176
Housekeeping	158
Family	149
Study, research	133
Travel	129
Clubs, alumnæ activities, etc	91
Country life	91
Writing	58
Politics	41
Bridge	34
Art	22
Lectures	22
Business (outside own occupation)	18
Handicrafts	13
Movies	10
Miscellaneous	15
No interests outside occupation	20
Unanswered	50

* Listed in order of number of times mentioned.

The question was asked in the following form:

Sec. I. A.14.
Do you consider your life on the whole—

(a) happy	satisfactory	successful
(b) unhappy	unsatisfactory	unsuccessful

In each case why?

The discussions which accompanied the checking of the points named throw much light on the individual case histories. It is easy to count those who say definitely happy or unhappy and so forth. The modified categories have to depend to a considerable extent on the judgment and interpretation of the compilers. We present the results, however, for what they are worth.

On the whole, as in the case of the married women, we have here a group of women preponderantly in good health, happy, educated above the average, all but a few actively employed,

TABLE XI

LIFE CONSIDERED AS A WHOLE

	No.	%
Happy	887	78.3
Fairly happy	118	10.4
Unhappy	81	7.1
Neither (neutral)	46	4.2
Answered	1132	100.0
Unanswered	68	
Total	1200	
Satisfactory	710	63.7
Fairly satisfactory	151	13.4
Unsatisfactory	244	21.7
Neither (neutral)	16	1.2
Answered	1121	100.0
Unanswered	79	
Total	1200	
Successful	715	65.1
Fairly successful	186	16.9
Unsuccessful	131	11.9
Neither (neutral)	65	6.1
Answered	1097	100.0
Unanswered	103	
Total	1200	

more than half of them in the educational field, on the average in the middle thirties and capable, if it is possible for anyone, of giving a truthful account of themselves in writing.

CHAPTER VI

SOME AUTO-EROTIC PRACTICES, UNMARRIED COLLEGE GRADUATES

A SURVEY of the literature of auto-erotism shows very little in the way of statistical study of masturbation among men and still less among women.

Havelock Ellis, in his *Studies in the Psychology of Sex,* says: "We find, indeed, that no attempts have been made to study auto-erotic phenomena, except as regards the group . . . collected under the term 'masturbation,' while even here such attempts have been made among abnormal classes of people, or have been conducted in a manner scarcely likely to yield valuable results."

He quotes a number of opinions as to the extent of the practice among men and women, varying from Oskar Berger, a German specialist, who places it at 99 per cent for both sexes, to that of an Italian writer, who found that 23 per cent of men of the professional classes in North Italy masturbate about the time of puberty. No account was taken of those who begin later.

Moraglia made a study of 200 women of the lower class of Italy and found that 120, or 60 per cent, acknowledged that they masturbated.[1]

Horace W. Fink, addressing the International Conference of Women Physicians in 1919, quotes Ellis and Molls as to extent. He also mentions a Russian study which places the number at 60 per cent for the men. As to his own opinion, he says that his observation leads him to an estimate of about 90 per cent

[1] These estimates, with others, appear in the third revised and enlarged edition of Ellis's book, *Studies in the Psychology of Sex* (pp. 235 *et seq.*) Philadelphia, F. A. Davis Company, 1913.

for all people, somewhat over for men and less for women.[1] "Masturbation in the female," he says, "is still a subject that has been very imperfectly studied. We know comparatively little about it."

Ellis, discussing the relative prevalence of masturbation as between men and women, gives as his own view the following: "After adolescence I think there can be no doubt that masturbation is more common in women than in men. Men have by this time mostly adopted some method of sexual gratification with the opposite sex; women are to a much larger extent shut out from such gratification." [2]

Forel believes that a smaller percentage of women than of men engage in the practice.[3]

The psychoanalysts base their conclusions chiefly on the case histories obtained in their own practice or that of their associates. The same is true of neurologists and genito-urinary specialists.[4]

Dr. W. F. Robie has written extensively on many matters pertaining to sex. In a chapter entitled *Statistical Inquiry* in his *Rational Sex Ethics*,[5] he states that he has in his possession the histories of 111 men and 47 women. Of the women 34 cases were obtained directly. Five hundred other cases, "mostly men and boys," he says, "have been reported to me in a general way by physicians, teachers, and others who knew the parties and advised many of them."

Later on he says that approximately 150 additional people, "the majority of whom were females," gave him their sex his-

[1] "Masturbation", by Horace W. Fink, M.D. Vol. V, *Proceedings of International Conference of Women Physicians* (pp. 75 *et seq.*). New York, Young Women's Christian Association, 1920.

[2] Havelock Ellis, *loc. cit.*, p. 245.

[3] *The Sexual Question,* by August Forel, M.D., Ph.D., LL.D. English adaptation from the second German edition, revised and enlarged (p. 229). New York, The Rebman Company, 1908.

[4] For example, Dr. Max Huhner, in *A Practical Treatise on Disorders of the Sexual Function in Male and Female,* seventh edition (Philadelphia, F. A. Davis Company, 1920), deals in Chapter III with masturbation in the adult female. The etiology, pathology, diagnosis, and treatment of the condition are considered, but there is nowhere an indication of the number of cases that form the basis of the views expressed or of the class of women treated, beyond the fact that they were patients at the clinics of Mt. Sinai and Vanderbilt Hospitals.

[5] Boston, R. G. Badger, 1920.

tories. "Neither male nor female has denied masturbation at some time, or some equivalent auto-eratic activity." He summarizes the views resulting from his studies of these case histories as follows: "I am strongly of the opinion that some form of conscious or semiconscious auto-erotism is practiced by practically every male and by the vast majority of females." [1]

The study made by Dr. Exner of college men [2] deals with the largest group of cases statistically handled that we have been able to discover. The questionnaire method was used in this study, and in all 948 sets of answers were secured. Of these 562 came from colleges of the Middle West and the Pacific Coast, and 386 from institutions in New York City.

Questions 6, 7, and 8 dealt with sexual practices. Question 7 asked the nature of the practice; 518 men of the Western group answered. Of these, 61.5 per cent admitted having practiced "self-abuse." In the New York group, 363 men answered the question, of whom only 34.7 per cent admitted the practice, although in both groups the replies were anonymous. Dr. Exner describes the differences in the method used in securing the data in the two groups, to which he ascribes the difference in results rather than "to difference in the sex lives of Eastern and Western students."

A more recent study is one made by Dr. Paul Strong Achilles under the auspices of the Committee on Evaluation of Social Hygiene Literature of the American Social Hygiene Association.[3] While the chief aim of the study is expressed in the title of the committee, certain data as to personal experiences were obtained which bear on our subject. We select for comparative purposes three of his groups. Group D consisted of 406 high-school boys in New York City. In anonymous questionnaires obtained from them, 349 replied to the question as to the age

[1] *Rational Sex Ethics,* Chapter III, pp. 90–100.

[2] *Problems and Principles of Sex Education; a Study of 948 College Men,* by Max Joseph Exner, M.D. New York, Association Press, 1915, pp. 16–18.

[3] *The Effectiveness of Certain Social Hygiene Literature,* by Paul Strong Achilles, Ph.D. Published by the American Social Hygiene Association by agreement with the United States Interdepartmental Social Hygiene Board, 1923, p. 50.

at beginning masturbation. One hundred and ninety-seven, or 56.4 per cent of those who replied, admitted having practiced it.

Group A was a mixed group, the oldest in point of age of those approached. The subject was presented to 90 men. Seventy replies were received. Sixty of these, or 85.7 per cent, had practiced masturbation. The third group, B, included 108 men and 97 women. They were all students attending extension courses at Columbia University. Of the men, 39 replied to this question. Twenty-nine individuals, or 74.4 per cent of those who replied, had masturbated. Of the 31 women who replied, 14, or 45.2 per cent, admitted the practice.

No question was asked as to whether or not the practice had been discontinued.

No other statistical study of adult normal women in the United States has been discovered.

The most recent statistical study of men we have seen is that of Peck and Wells, of the Boston Psychopathic Hospital, on the psycho-sexuality of college men.[1] "The individuals discussed . . . constitute some three-quarters of a group of almost 250. So far as known, they were unselected from the total group." The method used was the anonymous questionnaire, following a talk on the subject in which the general objects of the investigation were explained.

Question 9 deals with masturbation. It is made up of two items concerning years of beginning and years of duration respectively. Nine per cent of the answers to the first item were unclassifiable as to age of beginning, 7 per cent failed to answer this item, and 7 per cent denied the practice. This apparently means that at least 92.4 per cent of the men who replied had had the experience at some time. This is a much higher percentage than is found in Dr. Exner's Western-college group, and considerably higher than the group most nearly comparable in Dr. Achilles' study—*i.e.*, Group B, in which the percentage is 74.4.

Section III of the questionnaire for unmarried college women deals with sex feeling and sex experiences. We introduced the

[1] "On the Psycho-Sexuality of College Graduate Men," by M. W. Peck, M.D. and F. L. Wells, Ph.D. *Mental Hygiene,* Vol. 7, pp. 697–714, October, 1923.

subject with the following statements, which were in a measure a repetition and amplification of matter used in the original letter:

At no point is accurate knowledge more greatly needed than that of sex experience. Norms based upon the experiences of large numbers of intelligent individuals have never been established, yet they are fundamental to any sound educational program.

By answering the following questions frankly you can make a distinct scientific and social contribution. This will not be easy, but by remembering that this study is being conducted in a purely impersonal way for distinctly social ends, and that personal identity is absolutely concealed, it should be possible. The data for the determination of norms of sex behavior can come only from the life experiences of sane, intelligent men and women. These data can be secured in large numbers only by means of the questionnaire. Until these facts of life experience are at hand, sound principles for sex education can never be formulated.

In view of these facts, will you not give your best efforts to the answering of these questions? Make your replies as complete and accurate as possible. All the questions may not be pertinent to your experience. If so, indicate those which are not. Should there be aspects of your experience not covered by these questions, kindly attach as complete a statement of the facts as you can.

Whether your experience has been limited or extended, conventional or however unconventional, have no hesitancy in stating the facts. Frank and detailed statements are invaluable. Partial statements of fact are misleading. And remember *there is no way by which your identity can ever become known.*

That there may be no misunderstanding of the questions, the following definitions and statements are appended:

A. By auto-erotic activity is meant self-induced sex pleasure. This may take various forms such as:

1. Sex reveries or daydreaming. These may range all the way from spontaneous beginnings to deliberately cultivated imaginative sex stimulation. The effects may range from mild sex excitement to the actual inducing of the orgasm, this latter without any manipulation of the organs.

For the purposes of this study, the term "orgasm" may be defined as a convulsive contraction of the muscles of the interior sex organs, followed by a definite relaxation.

2. Manipulation of the organs. This may be accidentally discovered, or suggested or taught by other persons. It may or may

not be accompanied by sex reveries or carried to the point of inducing the orgasm.

3. Masturbation is an auto-erotic activity carried to the point of orgasm. This may be brought about by manipulation, friction, pressure, and so forth, accompanied or not by sex reveries, or, as was mentioned above, be induced by vivid sex imagery unaided by manipulation. Most frequently, however, manipulation of some sort and sex reveries are involved. For the purpose of this study, masturbation is defined as the voluntary self-inducing of the orgasm by any means other than sexual intercourse.

There is considerable controversy with regard to auto-eroticism. For the most part, auto-eroticism, particularly that form of it known as masturbation, has been vigorously condemned both on ethical grounds and as the cause of grave physical and mental disorders. Accumulation of facts indicates that the harmful physical and mental effects have been greatly exaggerated. It is maintained by some eminent specialists today that auto-eroticism, including masturbation, is a normal stage in the development of the sex nature and must be passed through if sexual development is to be complete.

The purpose of the last statement was to assure the women that whatever their own experiences, they are not isolated, but very common to the human lot; that they are not necessarily signs of degeneracy; and that the phenomena in question are the subject of careful study by many eminent scientists. In this way we hoped to overcome the natural inhibitions of refined women which might stand in the way of honest and full reports.

Extent of Practice Among Cases Studied

Masturbation in a large proportion of cases begins in handling of the sex organs with accompanying pleasurable sensations. This may or may not at first result in an orgasm. In a very large proportion of cases, as we shall see later, our study shows that eventually it does so result.

In spite of the definitions given, there was not a clear conception in the minds of some of the women as to the distinction between "manipulation of organs for pleasure" and "masturbation." Apparently this was due in part at least to the use of the word "orgasm," which was unfamiliar to many. Neverthe-

less, only 73 women of the 603 who admitted manipulation believed that they had never experienced it. This seemed too small a number to consider separately for most purposes. In the tables that follow it has seemed best, therefore, to study the material together, and unless otherwise stated, "masturbation" at the head of a table will include manipulation of organs for pleasure with or without orgasm.

Tables were prepared both for the entire 1,183 cases[1] and also for the first 1,000 cases. The differences between the two groups, illustrated in Table I, are typical of the differences found elsewhere when similar comparisons have been made.

TABLE I

EXTENT OF PRACTICE OF MASTURBATION IN TOTAL 1,183 CASES (GROUP A) AND FIRST 1,000 CASES (GROUP B)

Extent of practice	Group A		Group B	
	No.	%	No.	%
Practiced at time of reporting	370	31.3	308	30.8
Practiced in past, have stopped	351	29.6	295	29.5
Denied any practice	375	31.7	327	32.7
Failed to answer	87	7.4	70	7.0
Total	1183	100.0	1000	100.0

Inasmuch as the comparison in this table shows such slight variation in the distribution percentages of Groups A and B, we have for the most part used only Group B in the following tables. Where any exception is made, it will be mentioned.

Description of Group Discussed

Six hundred and ninety-three of this group of 1,000 had graduated from women's colleges, and 258 from coeducational universities; 45 had attended both; 4 failed to answer on this point. One hundred and eighty-nine have the M.A. and 10 the

[1] The total number received at the time this subject was studied.

M.S. degree, 57 are Ph.D.s, and 23 are M.D.s. There is one LL.B. and one diploma of the Sorbonne in the group.

Only four women who replied on the question of age were less than 25 years old. One woman was 68. Only two failed to answer as to age. The mode is 30 (with 92 individuals), and the average for the group is 37.1 years.

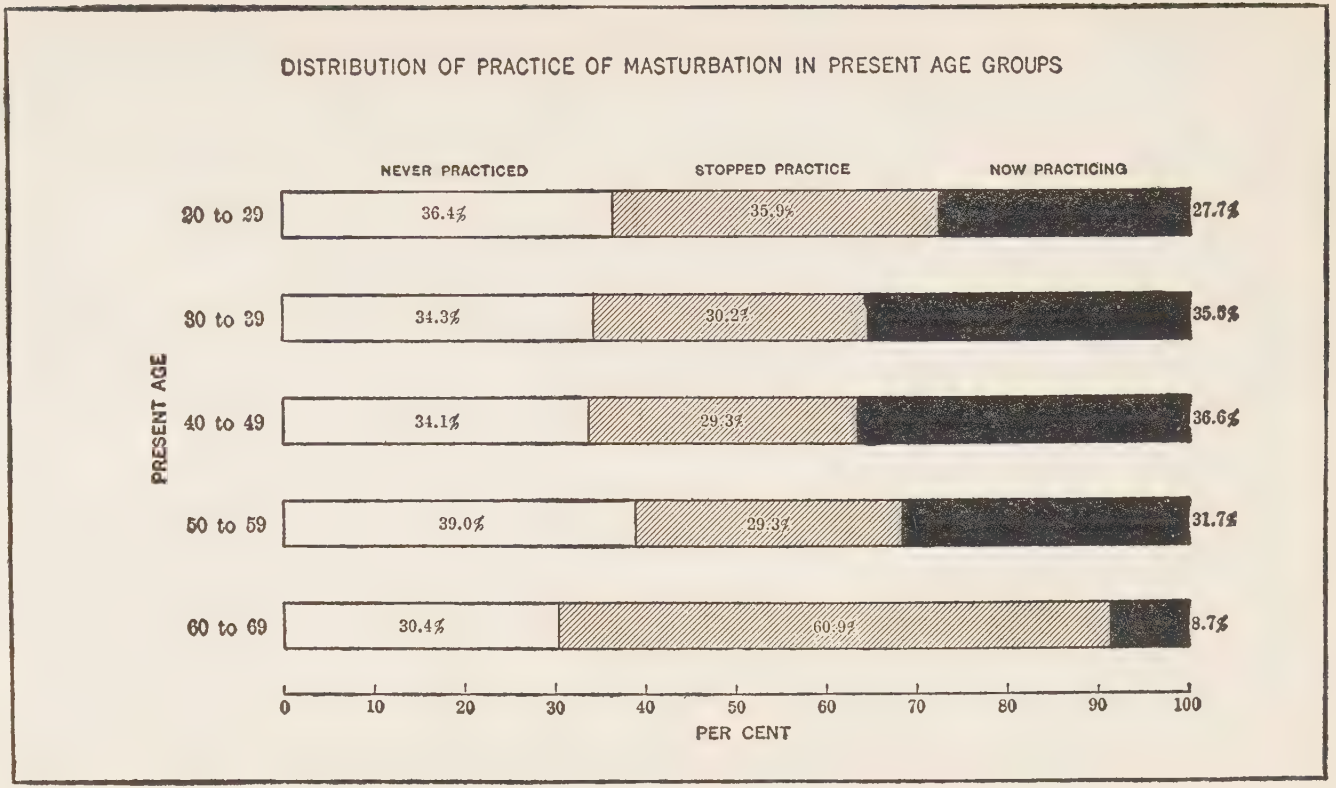
Approximately one-third had spent their early life in the country, one-third in towns, and one-third in cities. Seventy-six and nine-tenths per cent of the group report good or excellent health since leaving college. Only 5 per cent report "poor" health. The remainder report "fair."

Only 46 individuals of the group have never at any time engaged in a gainful occupation. Some form of teaching affords occupation to 586 of them, ranging from college to kindergarten work. The social-work group is next largest; at least 140 women can be so classed. Secretarial workers furnish 63, librarians 62. In smaller numbers are trained nurses, physicians, business executives, lawyers, laboratory technicians, psychologists, actresses, writers, farmers—in short, practically every occupation in which women are engaged furnishes at least one or two representatives. Of these only 121 failed to find their present occupation "absorbing and satisfactory."[1]

It would appear from the data presented above that we have under consideration a group of intelligent, highly trained women, honorably and for the most part successfully employed, who have conscientiously tried to assist in an important investigation. Whatever reservation we may make as to the probable truthfulness of the replies, or as to the reasons for the failure of 70 individuals to reply at all to the questions regarding masturbation or pleasure from manipulation of sex organs, we may safely take the 64.8 per cent of the remainder who reply in the affirmative as the minimum number of women of this group who at any time engage in this practice.

[1] Of 1,000 married women, 116 found their married lives not wholly satisfactory and happy. The proportions are so similar that one is tempted to ask whether or not about this proportion of womankind have a personality make-up which prevents easy adjustment to conditions, whether they are married or single.

CHART I


DISTRIBUTION OF PRACTICE OF MASTURBATION IN PRESENT AGE GROUPS
NEVER PRACTICED
STOPPED PRACTICE
NOW PRACTICING
PRESENT AGE
20 to 29
36.4%
35.9%
27.7%
30 to 39
34.3%
30.2%
35.5%
40 to 49
34.1%
29.3%
36.6%
50 to 59
39.0%
29.3%
31.7%
60 to 69
30.4%
60.9%
8.7%
0
10
20
30
40
50
60
70
80
90
100
PER CENT

PRESENT AGES OF THE GROUPS UNDER CONSIDERATION

Table II-A compares as to age the three groups—those who are practicing now, those who have stopped the practice, and those who never practiced—into which our total 1,000 are divided. Table II-B combines the ages in decades for the purpose of determining what effect, if any, present age has upon the practice of masturbation. Chart I presents these combinations graphically.

TABLE II

A. PRESENT AGES OF GROUPS REPORTING AS TO MASTURBATION

Age	Total		Of group practicing now		Of group that have stopped practice		Of group that have never practiced	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
22–24	4	0.4	1	0.3	1	0.3	2	0.6
25–27	71	7.7	14	4.5	26	8.8	31	9.5
28–30	194	20.9	62	20.1	71	24.1	61	18.7
31–33	158	17.0	54	17.5	51	17.3	53	16.3
34–36	112	12.1	41	13.3	32	10.8	39	12.0
37–39	79	8.5	33	10.7	16	5.4	30	9.2
40–42	73	7.9	27	8.8	22	7.5	24	7.4
43–45	55	5.9	21	6.8	12	4.1	22	6.8
46–48	62	6.6	21	6.8	19	6.4	22	6.8
49–51	38	4.1	11	3.6	15	5.1	12	3.7
52–54	29	3.1	9	2.9	9	3.1	11	3.4
55–57	21	2.3	8	2.6	6	2.0	7	2.2
58–60	17	1.8	5	1.6	5	1.7	7	2.2
61–63	7	0.8	1	0.3	3	1.0	3	0.9
64–66	7	0.8	.....	.....	6	2.0	1	0.3
67–68	1	0.1	.....	.....	1	0.3	.....	.....
Total giving age	928	100.0	308	100.0	295	100.0	325	100.0
Unanswered as to age	2		.....		.....		2	
Total answered as to masturbation	930		308		295		327	

An inspection of Table II-B shows that in the decades 30, 40, and 50 the percentages of those who are practicing now are

higher than in the 20 to 29 age group. A mathematical comparison shows that the difference is significant.[1]

TABLE II (*continued*)

B. NUMBER AND PERCENTAGE OF EACH AGE GROUP THAT ARE NOW PRACTICING, HAVE STOPPED THE PRACTICE, OR HAVE NEVER PRACTICED

Present age	Total		Of group practicing now		Of group that have stopped practice		Of group that have never practiced	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
20–29	184	100.0	51	27.7	66	35.9	67	36.4
30–39	434	100.0	154	35.5	131	30.2	149	34.3
40–49	205	100.0	75	36.6	60	29.3	70	34.1
50–59	82	100.0	26	31.7	24	29.3	32	39.0
60–69	23	100.0	2	8.7	14	60.9	7	30.4
Total answered	928	100.0	308	33.2	295	31.8	325	35.0
No age given	2	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	2	.....
Total	930		308		295		327	

Ages at Which Practice Was Begun

In order to discover whether the age at which the practice was begun bore any relation to the discontinuing of it, we tabulated separately the ages at beginning in the two groups of those who were still practicing masturbation and those who have stopped. The results are presented in Tables III and IV.

The grouping of ages in the summaries of these two tables was determined by the following considerations: A table, not published in the present report, giving the ages at which menstruation was established, shows that the bulk of cases came within the limits of eleven to fifteen years inclusive. There were only

[1] The formula for the standard deviation of a difference between two percentages is

$$\sigma \text{ dif} = \sqrt{\frac{p_1 q_1}{n_1} + \frac{p_2 q_2}{n_2}},$$

where p_1 and p_2 are the two percentages, q_1 and q_2 are the respective differences between these percentages and 1.00, and n_1 and n_2 are the number of cases on which the percentages are based. A difference greater than twice the standard deviation of the difference may be regarded as probably significant.

TABLE III

AGES AT BEGINNING MASTURBATION OF GROUP NOW PRACTICING

Age	No.	Age	No.
"Before I can remember"	5	At or about 21	4
"Very young"	18	At or about 22	6
"In childhood"	2	At or about 23	5
"Under 9 years"	1	At or about 24	7
"Under 10 years"	3	At or about 25	9
At or about 3	4	At or about 26	4
At or about 4	7	At or about 27	6
At or about 5	13	At or about 28	13
At or about 6	10	At or about 29	1
At or about 7	10	At or about 30	11
At or about 8	21	At or about 32	3
At or about 9	15	At or about 34	1
At or about 10	13	At or about 35	3
At or about 11	11	At or about 40	2
At or about 12	13	At or about 42	1
At or about 13	7	In the "twenties"	3
At or about 14	5	In the "thirties"	1
At or about 15	6	In the "forties"	1
At or about 16	5	As an adult	3
At or about 17	2	Do not remember	12
At or about 18	8	Unanswered	22
At or about 19	3		
At or about 20	8	Total	308

SUMMARY OF DEFINITE ANSWERS

Age	No.	%
Childhood—3 to 10 years, inclusive	97	39.9
Puberty—11 to 15 years, inclusive	42	17.3
College years—16 to 22 years, inclusive	36	14.8
The 20's—23 to 29 years, inclusive	45	18.5
The 30's	19	7.8
The 40's	4	1.6
Total	243	100.0

a few scattering cases at either end. We, therefore, included the years up to eleven under the heading "childhood" and the years from eleven to fifteen inclusive under "puberty." The years from 16 to 22 inclusive we called college years, as they

constitute the period that the very great majority spent in college. The fourth period begins at the age at which the majority left college. Omitting the indefinite expressions of age, we have placed the remainder in these six groups.

TABLE IV

AGES AT BEGINNING OF MASTURBATION OF GROUP THAT HAVE STOPPED PRACTICE

Age	No.	Age	No.
"Before I can remember"	1	At or about 23	5
"Very young"	9	At or about 24	10
In childhood	4	At or about 25	2
At or about 3	2	At or about 26	5
At or about 4	4	At or about 27	10
At or about 5	12	At or about 28	3
At or about 6	12	At or about 29	2
At or about 7	19	At or about 30	6
At or about 8	23	At or about 32	1
At or about 9	12	At or about 35	4
At or about 10	20	At or about 36	1
At or about 11	10	At or about 38	1
At or about 12	17	At or about 39	1
At or about 13	8	At or about 40	1
At or about 14	11	"In college"	4
At or about 15	2	"In teens"	3
At or about 16	4	"In twenties"	1
At or about 17	4	"In forties"	1
At or about 18	6	"As an adult"	6
At or about 19	2	Do not remember	21
At or about 20	7	Unanswered	12
At or about 21	4		
At or about 22	2	Total	295

SUMMARY OF DEFINITE ANSWERS

Ages	No.	Per cent
Childhood—3 to 10 years, inclusive	104	43.6
Puberty—11 to 15 years, inclusive	48	20.2
College years—16 to 22 years, inclusive	33	13.9
The 20's—23 to 29 years, inclusive	37	15.5
The 30's	14	5.9
The 40's	2	0.8
Total	238	100.0

CHART II

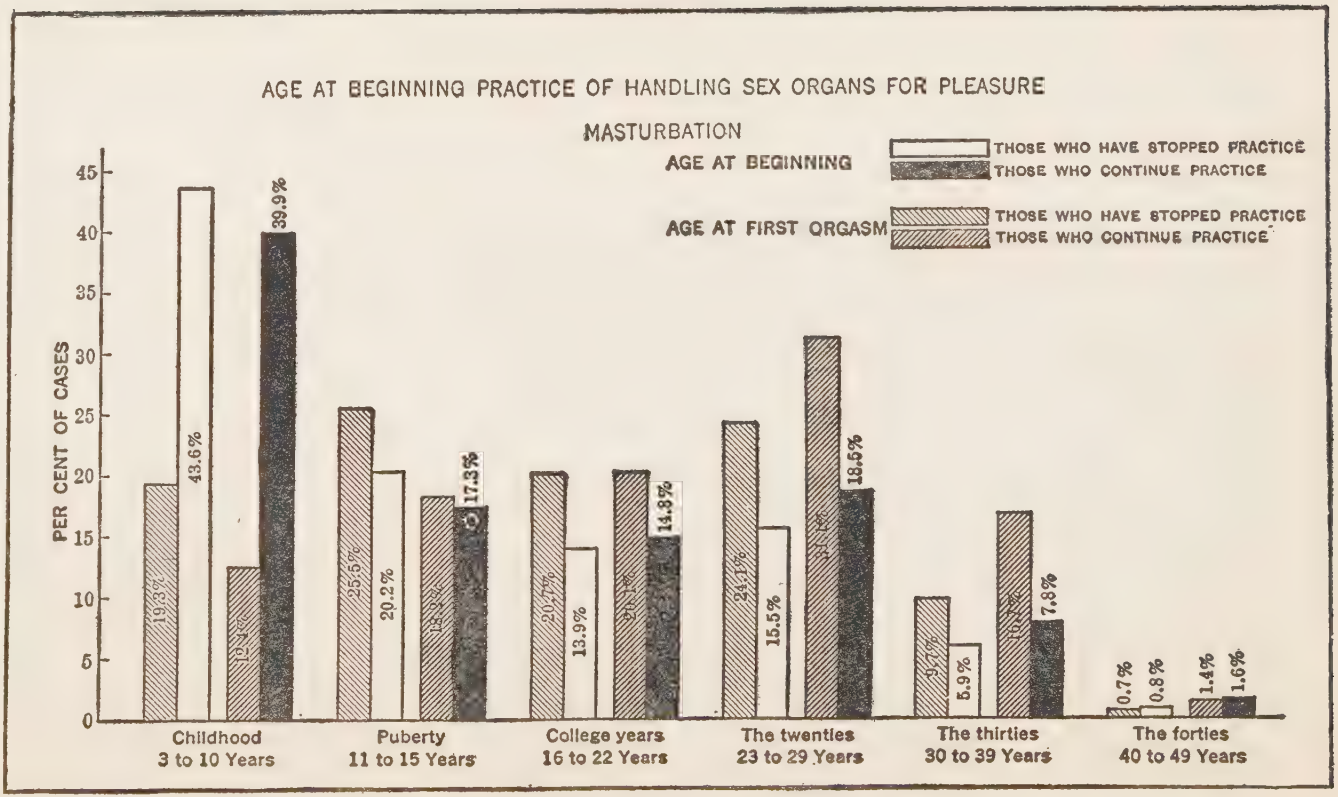

AGE AT BEGINNING PRACTICE OF HANDLING SEX ORGANS FOR PLEASURE
MASTURBATION
AGE AT BEGINNING
THOSE WHO HAVE STOPPED PRACTICE
THOSE WHO CONTINUE PRACTICE
AGE AT FIRST ORGASM
THOSE WHO HAVE STOPPED PRACTICE
THOSE WHO CONTINUE PRACTICE
PER CENT OF CASES
45
40
35
30
25
20
15
10
5
0
19.3%
43.6%
12.4%
39.9%
25.5%
20.2%
18.0%
17.3%
20.7%
13.9%
21.1%
14.8%
24.1%
15.5%
31.1%
18.5%
9.7%
5.9%
16.7%
7.8%
0.7%
0.8%
1.4%
1.6%
Childhood
3 to 10 Years
Puberty
11 to 15 Years
College years
16 to 22 Years
The twenties
23 to 29 Years
The thirties
30 to 39 Years
The forties
40 to 49 Years

Chart II shows the relation of the groups in Tables III and IV.[1] It is noticeable that the percentage of those who began the practice before sixteen years of age is higher in the group of those who have stopped the practice and lower thereafter. The percentages of difference, however, are too small to have any definite significance, when treated mathematically.

It will be noted that in both tables there is a drop during the college years and a rise during the period from 23 to 29, inclusive. A small percentage of both groups began in the 30's and 40's.

Three of the studies of men quoted, those of Exner, Achilles, and Peck and Wells, present their statistical data in a form that permits us to compare the ages at which masturbation

TABLE V

COMPARISON OF PRACTICE OF MASTURBATION IN THREE GROUPS OF MEN AND THREE GROUPS OF WOMEN

	Study reported by					
	Exner	Peck and Wells*	Achilles		Davis	
	Men	Men	Group B		Unmarried women	Married women up to time of marriage
			Men	Women		
Number of cases reporting....	562	186	108	97	1000	1000
Number replying to question regarding masturbation....	518	173	39	31	930	951
Number admitting masturbation.....	319	160	29	14	603	381
Percentage of those replying who admit masturbation ...	61.6	92.5	74.4	45.2	64.8	40.1

[1] This chart shows also, for purposes of comparison, the ages at which the orgasm was first induced. We are considering at the moment only those portions of the chart indicated by the solid white and the solid black columns.

* The numbers given for this group are merely approximate, as Peck and Wells deal entirely with percentages, merely stating that the individuals studied constituted some three-quarters of a group of about 250.

began with those in our own studies. We can also compare the figures for the Group B women in the Achilles study.

The extent of the practice as reported in these various groups is shown in Table V.

Table VI gives a percentage comparison of the ages at which masturbation began in the three groups of men and the three groups of women. This comparison is presented graphically in Chart III which is based upon a combination of all the men's groups, on the one hand, and all the women's groups on the other.

TABLE VI

PERCENTAGE COMPARISON OF AGE AT WHICH MASTURBATION BEGAN, AS BETWEEN THREE GROUPS OF MEN AND THREE GROUPS OF WOMEN

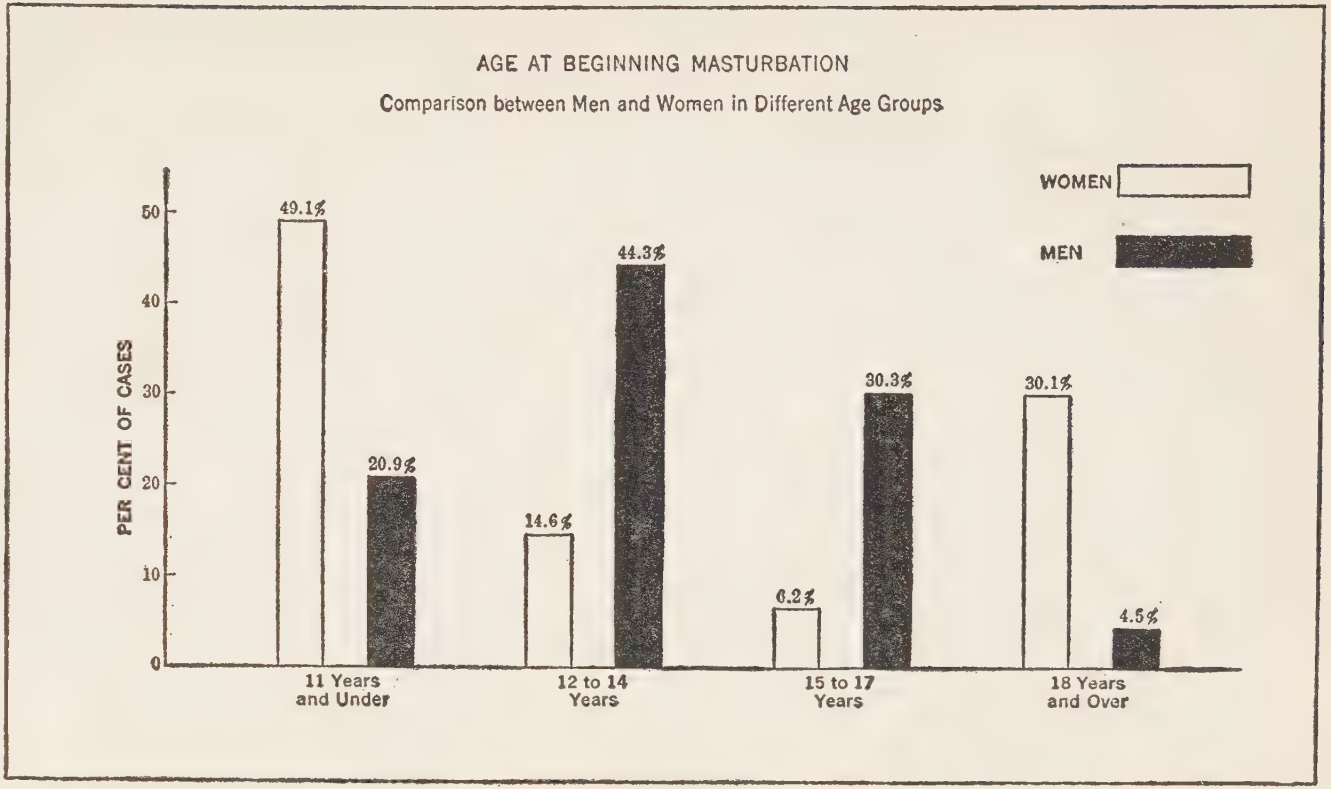
MEN

Age of beginning	In Exner group		In Peck group		In Achilles Group B		In combined groups	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Up to and including 11 years	80	25.1	16	11.3	6	22.2	102	20.9
12–14 years	142	44.5	61	43.0	13	46.1	216	44.3
15–17 years	90	28.2	51	35.9	7	25.9	148	30.3
18 years and over	7	2.2	14	9.8	1	3.7	22	4.5
Total	319	100.0	142	100.0	27	100.0	488	100.0

WOMEN

Age at beginning	In Achilles Group B		In Davis unmarried group		In Davis married group		In combined groups	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Up to and including 11 years	6	46.1	255	48.4	174	50.3	435	49.1
12–14 years	2	15.4	61	11.6	66	19.1	129	14.6
15–17 years	2	15.4	23	4.3	30	8.7	55	6.2
18 years and over	3	23.1	188	35.7	76	22.0	267	30.1
Total	13	100.0	527	100.0	346	100.0	886	100.0

CHART III


AGE AT BEGINNING MASTURBATION
Comparison between Men and Women in Different Age Groups
WOMEN
MEN
PER CENT OF CASES
0
10
20
30
40
50
49.1%
20.9%
14.6%
44.3%
6.2%
30.3%
30.1%
4.5%
11 Years and Under
12 to 14 Years
15 to 17 Years
18 Years and Over

In preparing Table VI we excluded the cases in which the age at beginning was either not given or was given in such indefinite terms as not to admit of exact placing.

This table shows that of the women studied, nearly one-half of those who have engaged in the practice of masturbation, and who definitely fix the time of beginning, began the practice at 11 years or under, and that over 30 per cent did not begin at all until 18 years or older. Among the corresponding group of men we find, however, that nearly 75 per cent began between the ages of 12 and 17 inclusive, and that only 4.5 per cent began after the age of 18 years. It should be noted that the upper age limit of the groups of men studied is less than that of the women.

If we test mathematically the validity of the percentage differences between any age group of men and the corresponding age group of women, we find that there is not one chance in infinity but that the difference is significant, and not due merely to chance sampling. Just what this difference between boys and girls and men and women signifies we will not discuss here. Many factors undoubtedly enter into it and no simple explanation seems adequate.

How Practice Was Acquired

Table VII shows how the practice began.

Combining the groups who are continuing the practice and those who have stopped, we find that in about 60 per cent of all the cases that gave definite information on this point the discovery was accidental, while in about 30 per cent it was taught. The higher percentage of cases "taught" in the group now practicing might suggest the possible interpretation that the manner of learning may affect the continuance of the practice, or, putting it from the other side, that accidental discovery is more likely to be followed by discontinuation. So far as this group is concerned, however, the difference is too small to be significant.

Of the 322 in Table VII who claimed to have made the discovery of masturbation accidentally, about one-third failed to answer or could not remember how the practice began. Table VIII summarizes the answers of the 209 who reported on this

TABLE VII

MEANS BY WHICH MASTURBATION WAS ACQUIRED IN THE GROUP OF UNMARRIED COLLEGE WOMEN ADMITTING THE PRACTICE

Means of acquiring practice	In group practicing now			In group that have stopped practice		
	No.	Per cent of total	Per cent of those reporting *	No.	Per cent of total	Per cent of those reporting *
1. Accidentally discovered	156	50.6	58.6	166	56.3	61.5
2. Learned from another person	87	28.2	32.7	78	26.4	28.9
3. Deliberately undertaken as an adult	23	7.5	8.6	26	8.8	9.6
4. Do not remember	10	13.6	.....	14	8.5	.....
5. Unanswered	32			11		
Total	308	100.0	100.0	295	100.0	100.0

* The two groups of those who do not remember and those who left the question unanswered are omitted from these percentages.

point. It will be observed that there is little difference in the replies of the two groups.

The "accidental pressure" given as the cause in the largest number of cases was described by several as the result of underclothing that was too tight. "Position on furniture" also would probably be classed as accidental pressure. "Sliding downstairs," "climbing a tree," "riding a bicycle," and so forth, could be placed in one class, but the use of the terms used by the writers seemed preferable in this report.

Table IX shows that of those who learned the practice, 64 per cent of those who replied were taught by other girls and 9 per cent were taught as adults by women friends.

Forty-nine individuals, or about 9 per cent of those who reported as to how the practice was acquired, stated that it was deliberately undertaken in adult life. The reasons given are shown in Table X and require no special comment.

TABLE VIII

METHOD OF ACCIDENTALLY DISCOVERING MASTURBATION

How discovered	Total	In group practicing now	In group that have stopped practice
Result of accidental pressure	38	22	16
Result of rubbing or scratching to relieve irritation or itching	33	20	13
Result of irritation probably due to worms	4	2	2
Discovered while bathing, use of spray, etc.	30	15	15
Result of investigation from curiosity	21	9	12
Result of position on furniture	14	4	10
While in bed napping or partially awake	13	3	10
Sliding downstairs or climbing a tree	5	3	2
Handling by a man *	5	2	3
Lying or sitting with legs or knees crossed	5	1	4
Close embrace or familiarity of lover	4	2	2
Pleasure resulting from use of douche	3	2	1
Result of sensation produced by reading as a child	3	2	1
Horseback or bicycle riding	3	2	1
Effect of "accidental stimulus"	3	.....	3
Creeping or hitching on the floor	2	2	.....
"Just happened" †	2	2	.....
Motion of carriage or railroad train	2	1	1
Result of "spooning"	2	1	1
Sleeping with another girl	2	1	1
Applying cold cream to chapped parts	1	1	.....
"Told not to place anything between thighs, so tried it"	1	1	.....
Position advised by physician (knee-chest) †	1	1	.....
Manipulation of physician who examined for life insurance	1	1	.....
Mishandling of physician	1	.....	1
"Older person tickling me"	1	1	.....
"Discovered in play"	1	1	.....
"During delirium in illness after reading Ellis"	1	1	.....
"Superabundant energy had to have vent"	1	.....	1
"Being spanked"	1	.....	1
"Imagining legs glued together"	1	.....	1
Emotional experience with another woman	1	.....	1
"Instinct"	1	.....	1
"In an endeavor to overcome constipation"	1	.....	1
"In an attempt to conceal first menstruation because not properly prepared"	1	.....	1
Total giving information	209	103	106
Do not recall	51	17	34
Unanswered	62	36	26
Total who discovered masturbation accidentally	322	156	166

* Practice acquired in childhood.

† Practice acquired as adults.

TABLE IX

PERSONS FROM WHOM PRACTICE WAS LEARNED

From whom learned	Total	In group practicing now	In group that have stopped practice
Another girl	91	49	42
An older sister	4	2	2
A girl cousin	7	4	3
A nursemaid	7	5	2
A woman friend *	15	4	11
A boy	8	5	3
A brother	2	2	.....
Other children	6	2	4
A man friend	8	3	5
Fiancé	1	.....	1
An older person (sex unspecified)	1	.....	1
A middle-aged piano-tuner †	1	1	.....
Older persons, through talk of sex intercourse †	1	1	.....
"Doctor while dressing wound" *	1	1	.....
Physician in lecture in high school (at 14 years)	1	.....	1
Persons unspecified who gave warning against practice	4	1	3
Total giving information	158	80	78
Unanswered	7	7	.....
Total	165	87	78

* Practice acquired in childhood.
† Practice acquired as adults.

Experience of the Orgasm

One of the difficulties in a questionnaire study, even of college women, is the general ignorance of correct terminology. As we have noted before, in spite of our definitions, we were not entirely successful in making our questions clear, as is shown in a certain percentage of the answers to some of the questions concerning masturbation.

By our definition, pleasure in handling sex organs does not amount to masturbation unless an orgasm is induced. The term orgasm is defined. No question such as, "Have you ever induced the orgasm?" was asked, but Section C, 2 (a) asks "How old

TABLE X

REASONS FOR DELIBERATELY UNDERTAKING MASTURBATION AS ADULTS

Reason	Total	In group practicing now	In group that have stopped practice
As a result of reading	17	12	5
As an experiment	11	4	7
As a relief from tension of nerves	3	1	2
As a relief from tension, by advice of physician	1	.....	1
As a relief from sex thoughts	1	1	.....
To satisfy sex desire (general)	5	2	3
To satisfy desire for special man	6	1	5
To satisfy desire after cohabitation	2	2	.....
To satisfy curiosity aroused by lecture	1	.....	1
"To satisfy need of emotional outlet"	1	.....	1
"A desire to touch something forced its way into consciousness"	1	.....	1
Total	49	23	26

were you when the orgasm was first induced?" From the answers given to this question, we were able to determine whether or not the orgasm was experienced. Whenever the answer was, "I am not sure I ever had it," or words to that effect, we included

TABLE XI

EXPERIENCE OF THE ORGASM

Replies	In group practicing now		In group that have stopped practice	
	No.	%	No.	%
Experienced orgasm	272	97.1	193	74.8
Never induced orgasm	6	2.9	65	25.2
Orgasm incomplete	2		...	
Total answering as to orgasm	280	100.0	258	100.0
Unanswered	28		37	
Total group	308		295	

it in the category, "never induced." The data obtained on this point are shown in Table XI.

It will be observed that a very large proportion of those who deny the experience of the orgasm fall in the group of those who have stopped the practice. The difference between the two groups who admit the experience amounts to 22.3 per cent. The numbers in these groups—namely, 193 and 272— are large enough to permit mathematical treatment, which shows that there is absolutely no chance but that the difference is significant.

Table XII shows the number in each age group as obtained from the answers of those who gave a sufficiently definite age to permit of classification.

Table XII, Summary A, combines these ages into the same groups we have used in Chart II which shows, beside the figure for age at beginning practice, the corresponding figure for age at first experiencing orgasm.

Table XII, Summary B, combines the groups of those who are practicing now and those who have stopped the practice and arranges them in the age groups used in Chart III, in which we compare the studies of men with those of women.

Chart IV shows that the general direction of an imaginary curve connecting the tops of the columnar figures is the same for the first inducing of the orgasm as for the beginning of the practice among women and opposite to that shown in the studies of men used,[1] in so far as that it is lowest in the two middle groups.

It is noteworthy that in this study of unmarried women, the experience of the orgasm in nearly 62 per cent of the cases does not occur until eighteen years or over.

The fact that the percentages of those who never induced the orgasm is so much higher in the group that has stopped the practice suggests the question whether failure to induce the orgasm has any relation to the discontinuation of the practice.

[1] We assume that in the studies of college men masturbation means the manipulation of the organ to the point of ejaculation, except in cases of manipulation of the organ before puberty.

TABLE XII

AGES AT WHICH ORGASM WAS FIRST EXPERIENCED*

Age	In group practicing now	In group that have stopped practice	Age	In group practicing now	In group that have stopped practice
Very young	6	1	23–24	.....	2
3	1	.....	24	7	7
3–4	.....	3	24–25	.....	1
4–5	1	.....	25	15	5
4–6	.....	1	25–26	1	.....
5	1	1	26	7	6
5–6	1	.....	27	8	2
6	3	1	28	14	4
6–8	.....	4	29	4	4
7	1	.....	25–30	1	.....
7–9	1	.....	30	12	5
8	2	7	31	2	.....
8–9	.....	2	31–33	1	.....
9	2	1	32	2	4
9–10	1	.....	32–33	1	.....
10	6	7	33	1	.....
10–11	2	2	30–35	1	.....
11	2	.....	34–35	1	.....
10–12	3	2	34	.....	1
12	8	12	35	6	3
12–13	3	1	36	1	.....
13	1	7	37	2	.....
14	13	6	39	.....	1
14–15	4	.....	Over 30	.....	3
15	2	6	40	1	.....
15–16	2	1	Over 40	.....	3
16	1	2	42	2	1
17	5	2	Early 'teens	.....	1
18	8	5	'Teens	5	.....
18–20	1	.....	In college	1	1
19	5	2	20's	1	.....
19–20	.....	1	"Late"	.....	1
20	6	10	30's	5	.....
20–22	2	.....	Adult	4	.....
20–25	.....	2	Middle age	.....	2
21	4	3	At menopause	1	.....
21–22	3	.....	"Always" (no date of beginning)	2	.....
22	4	1			
22–23	2	.....			
23	6	4	Total giving age	222	154

* Where dashes are used in this table, it is in cases where writers gave their ages as "3 or 4 years," or "between 6 and 8 years."

TABLE XII (*continued*)

SUMMARY A

Age	In group practicing now		In group that have stopped practice	
	No.	%	No.	%
To 10 years, inclusive	26	12.4	28	19.3
11–15 years, inclusive	38	18.2	37	25.5
16–22 years, inclusive	42	20.1	30	20.7
23–29 years, inclusive	65	31.1	35	24.1
30's	35	16.7	14	9.7
40's	3	1.4	1	0.7
Total	209	100.0	145	100.0

SUMMARY B

AGE AT FIRST ORGASM BY AGE GROUPS *

Age	No.	%
11 years and under	65	17.7
12–14 years	55	14.9
15–17 years	21	5.7
18 years and over	227	61.7
Total	368	100.0

* Includes all who gave definite data.

REASONS GIVEN FOR DISCONTINUING PRACTICE

From Table XIII it will be noted that none of the women who give their reasons for stopping adduce the failure to induce the orgasm. We have classified their reasons into seven groups, according to the factor that seemed most important in determining the discontinuation of the practice. It would be quite possible to arrange them otherwise. We have endeavored not to read any personal interpretation into the answers. According to our grouping, there is a difference of 11 per cent between the two groups in division 2 and a difference of nearly 10 per

CHART IV

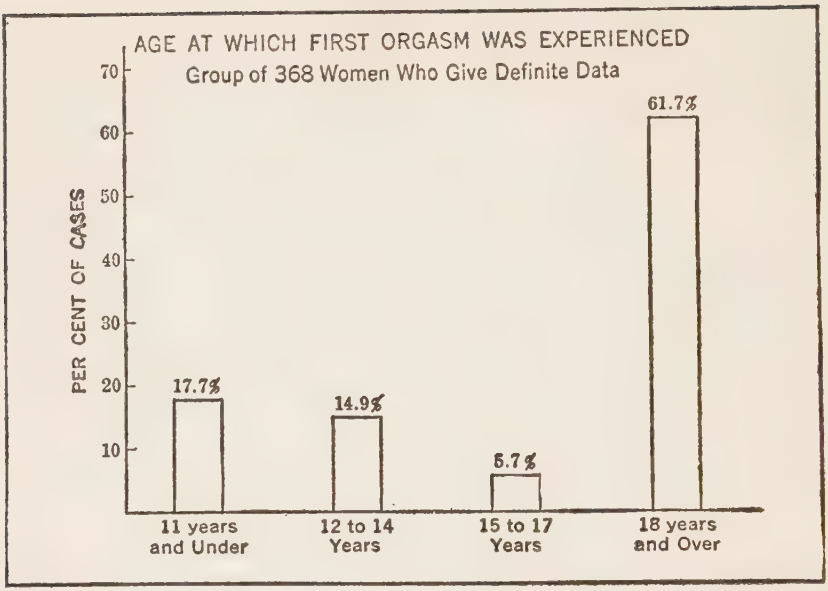


TABLE XIII

REASONS FOR STOPPING PRACTICE

Reasons	Total group		Those who have experienced orgasm		Those who have never induced orgasm	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
1. Fear of results, however acquired....	90	34.9	72	35.5	18	32.7
2. Unnecessary; desire wore off; outgrew it	48	18.6	33	16.3	15	27.3
3. Caused feelings of shame, disgust, etc.	48	18.6	42	20.7	6	10.9
4. Instinctively felt it was wrong.....	45	17.4	37	18.2	8	14.5
5. Replaced by interest in other things...	14	5.4	13	6.4	1	1.8
6. Replaced by heterosexual interests....	7	2.7	5	2.4	2	3.6
7. Stimulating cause removed.....	6	2.3	1	0.5	5	9.1
	258	100.0	203	100.0	55	100.0
Did not answer or did not remember	37	.....	27	.....	10	.....
Total.....	295	.....	230	.....	65	.....

REASONS FOR STOPPING PRACTICE GIVEN IN DETAIL

1. Learned by reading or discussion with others of its evil effects—insanity, etc	30	
Fear of harmful results	20	
Mother's advice or warning	17	
Learned physiological facts	6	
Felt it "too physical"	2	
Believed it was harmful	7	
"Overwhelmed by reaction"	5	
"Unfitted me for work"	1	
"It hurt me"	1	
"Caused facial eruption"	1	
		90
2. Found it unnecessary; did not like it	11	
"It ceased to be interesting"	15	
The desire wore off	6	
Outgrew it	6	
Did not produce gratification	3	
No further need for it	3	
Menstruation began	2	
Curiosity satisfied	2	
		48
3. Felt ashamed, disgusted, degraded	38	
Inconsistent with self-respect	6	
Decided it was "not nice"	4	
		48
4. Instinctively felt that it was wrong	37	
"Got old enough to know better"	4	
Own common sense	4	
		45
5. Believed in sublimation	2	
Became engrossed in other things	7	
Started to go to school	3	
Became interested in good books instead of love stories	1	
Changed environment	1	
		14
6. Came to care for a man	2	
Began sex intercourse	2	
Began to spoon	1	
Became engaged	1	
Found masturbation "too slow"	1	
		7
7. Man she cared for became engaged to another girl	1	
Fiancé died	1	
Companion moved away	4	
		6
		258
Do not remember	9	
Unanswered	28	37
Total		295

TABLE XIV

LENGTH OF PRACTICE OF GROUP CONTINUING TO MASTURBATE

Time practiced	Number practicing	Time practiced	Number practicing
1 year	8	25–26 years	1
2 years	5	26 years	7
3 years	2	25–27 years	1
4 years	7	26–27 years	2
5 years	2	26–30 years	1
6 years	6	27 years	5
6–7 years	1	27–28 years	2
7 years	5	27–29 years	1
8 years	2	28 years	5
8–9 years	1	28–29 years	1
9 years	4	29 years	3
10 years	7	29–30 years	1
10–11 years	1	30 years	7
11 years	6	30–31 years	1
12 years	8	31 years	1
12–14 years	1	31–32 years	1
13 years	3	32 years	2
14 years	4	33 years	3
15 years	1	33–34 years	1
15–16 years	1	34 years	4
16 years	5	35 years	2
16–17 years	1	36 years	2
16–18 years	1	36–37 years	1
17 years	2	37 years	2
17–18 years	2	37–38 years	1
18 years	1	38 years	4
18–19 years	3	38–39 years	2
19 years	10	39 years	1
19–20 years	1	41 years	2
19–21 years	1	41–42 years	1
20 years	7	42–43 years	2
20–21 years	1	43 years	2
21 years	8	45 years	5
21–22 years	1	46–47 years	1
22 years	7	48 years	1
22–23 years	3	51 years	1
23 years	9		
23–24 years	1	Definite	235
24 years	7	Indefinite	73
24–25 years	2		
25 years	7	Total	308

TABLE XIV (*continued*)

INDEFINITE ANSWERS (73)

	Number
Began practice—	
Before conscious memory begins	4
Very early, very young	14
During childhood	4
As an adult	3
In middle age	1
	—26
Length of practice—as shown by context—	
From 5 to 14 years	1
Eight years or less	1
At least 16 years	1
From 12 to 21 years	1
At least over 10 years	1
At least 25 years	1
Over 25 years	1
From 29 to 32 years	1
At least 38 years	1
Less than one year	2
	—11
Absolutely indefinite	36
Total	73

cent in division 3. But in any case, the numbers involved are too small for mathematical treatment.

Duration and Frequency of Practice

In Tables XIV, XV, and XVI we have presented data with regard to the duration of the practice. Tables XIV and XV show this for the group that are still continuing and the group that have stopped the practice. Table XVI shows the same thing for the group of 65 who stopped the practice without having experienced the orgasm.

It will be seen from Table XVI that 21, or 32.3 per cent, of the 65 who stopped the practice before inducing the orgasm continued it not longer than six months.

From the two latter tables we find that a comparison as to

TABLE XV

LENGTH OF PRACTICE OF THOSE WHO HAVE STOPPED MASTURBATION

Not very long—a short time	20	
A few times only	14	
A few weeks	8	
Several months	16	
Six months to a year	5	
		63
About a year	11	
1 to 2 years	2	
2 years	13	
2 or 3 years	5	
3 or 4 years	2	
4 years	5	
4 or 5 years	2	
5 or 6 years	8	
7 or 8 years	6	
8 or 9 years	1	
10 years	6	
12 years	2	
13 years	1	
14 years	4	
15 years	6	
16 years	1	
17 years	2	
17 or 18 years	2	
About 20 years	4	
21 years	1	
Up to 25 years (no date of beginning)	1	
From childhood to 26 and 28 years	2	
About 23 years	3	
Through childhood	5	
From childhood to adulthood	1	
34 years	1	
At intervals until 40 (no date of beginning)	1	
Until menopause (no date of beginning)	1	
"Several years"	26	
"Many years"	12	
From early childhood to college	2	
Over 40 years	1	
		140
Unanswered (many misunderstood question)	77	
Do not recall	15	
		92
Total		295

TABLE XVI

LENGTH OF TIME THE PRACTICE OF HANDLING SEX ORGANS WAS CONTINUED BY THOSE WHO NEVER EXPERIENCED ORGASM AND STOPPED PRACTICE

Time practiced	Number practicing
A few times	4
Not long, a short time	8
A few weeks	3
One summer	1
A few months	4
Six months	1
	—21
About a year	4
1 to 2 years	1
2 years	3
2 to 3 years	1
3 years	1
Several years	3
A few years	1
4 to 5 years	2
6 years	1
15 years	1
"Years"	1
A good many years	1
Until college (cannot recall beginning)	1
"Up to a year ago"*	1
	—22
Do not remember	5
Unanswered	17
	—22
Total	65

*Cannot recall beginning. Now aged thirty. Stopped because of feeling of wrongdoing.

length of time the practice was continued of those who did and those who did not induce the orgasm shows in the next table.

It will be noted that the percentage of those who never induced the orgasm is strikingly larger among those who carried on the practice less than a year—48.8 per cent as compared with 26.2 per cent. The numbers, however, are too small to be more than suggestive.

Tables XVII–A and XVII–B present data with regard to frequency of practice in the two groups of those who are practicing now and those who have ceased to practice. A good many

Length of time	In group that have induced orgasm		In group that have never induced orgasm	
	No.	%	No.	%
Less than one year	42	26.2	21	48.8
One year and over	118	73.8	22	51.2
Total answered	160	100.0	43	100.0
Unanswered or do not recall	70		22	
Total	230		65	

allowances must be made for them from the statistical point of view. In many instances women who are continuing the practice state in what way the practice has changed since it was begun. Sometimes the habit, when it had become such, was broken off

TABLE XVII–A

PRESENT FREQUENCY OF PRACTICE OF THE GROUP CONTINUING TO MASTURBATE

Infrequently, rarely	40	
Not often, seldom	15	
		55
Occasionally	26	
Irregularly	25	
		51
Every night or so	2	
Sometimes daily; then not for weeks	4	
Sometimes several times a day; then with intervals of months	2	
Daily for a time; then with intervals of ten days to two weeks	1	
Perhaps two to three times a night for a while; then with intervals of from one to two years	1	
		10
Once a week	5	
Once or twice a week	5	
Twice a week	2	
Three or four times a week	3	
Several times a week	2	
From twice a week to once a month	1	
"Weekly, but at irregular intervals"	1	
		19
Some weeks twice, some not at all	1	
Three times a week to once a month	1	
Once a week, sometimes less frequently	1	
		3

TABLE XVII–A (*continued*)

From two to three times a week or a month, according to feeling		5
Every three or four weeks		1
Once a month or oftener	1	
Once a month	10	
Once or twice a month	28	
From two to three times a month	10	
From two to six times a month	7	
		56
Once a month—sometimes less	2	
Once a month to once in two months	9	
Once in seven or eight months	1	
From several times a month to several times a year	8	
		20
From six to eight times a year	3	
From five to six times a year	5	
From three to four times a year	3	
About twice a year	6	
From two to three times a year	9	
From four to eight times a year	5	
About twenty times a year	1	
Once or twice a year	2	
Once a year, perhaps	2	
At intervals of several months	7	
		43
A year or more may elapse	1	
About once in eighteen months	1	
		2
"Frequently"	3	
"More or less"	1	
Varying—at times frequently	1	
Formerly infrequent; more frequent since menopause	1	
		6
Depends on fatigue, nervous tension, or emotional strain	4	
Only when excited or to distract mind from worry	1	
Only when excited by reading	1	
Only on stimulating occasions	1	
		7
"During periods of desire"	1	
"Never now except in sleep"	1	
"Whenever I have a chance to be with the person I desire to be"	1	
		3
Unanswered		27
Total		308

TABLE XVII–B

FREQUENCY OF PRACTICE OF THOSE WHO HAVE STOPPED MASTURBATION

Infrequently, rarely, seldom, not often		62
Occasionally	12	
Irregularly	12	
		24
Once in a while	7	
At long intervals	3	
At intervals of several months	1	
At intervals of several weeks	4	
		15
Once only	7	
Once or twice	12	
Twice	1	
Two or three times	6	
Three times	4	
Three or four times	3	
Four times	8	
Several times	3	
Half a dozen times	5	
		49
"All the time"	1	
Several times daily	4	
Nightly	28	
		33
Nightly, then not at all for long intervals	3	
Often, frequently	15	
		18
From two to three times a week	1	
Once or twice a week	4	
Once a week	7	
		12
Weekly to monthly		3
Several times a month	2	
Twice a month	2	
From one to four times a month	16	
Once a month	9	
		29
Once or twice a year	3	
From two to four times a year	4	
		7
Do not remember	18	
Unanswered	25	
		43
Total		295

and resumed under special stress sometimes after the lapse of years. In all but a very small proportion of cases a decreasing frequency is reported. Again, as the context shows, such words as "infrequently," "rarely," "occasionally," are used very differently. For example, one woman states, "Very infrequently;

not oftener than once a month," while another says, "Quite often, at least once a month." In such cases, of course, interpretation is not necessary, but where the words are used without modification they may mean almost anything. And of course there is always the question of accuracy of memory.

In the group of those who are still practicing, there were 6, it will be remembered, who stated that they had never experienced the orgasm, and 2 who believed that they had never induced a complete orgasm. The 6 gave the following information with regard to age at beginning practice, and duration and frequency of practice:

Age at beginning practice	Duration of practice	Frequency of practice
4 to 6	25 to 27 years	"Occasionally"
19	19 years	3 to 4 times a week
24	9 years	Twice a month
25	4 years	"Intermittently—depends on amount of leisure"
"As an adult"	Indefinite	"Seldom"
Do not know	Indefinite	"Occasionally"

Of the two who believe that they have never experienced a complete orgasm, one stated that she had begun the practice at the age of 22 and had been indulging in the practice for 22 years. She did not answer the question as to frequency. The other, whose present age is 28, had begun "in the twenties" and stated that she indulged "about once in two months." One of these writes: "I believe I have never experienced the orgasm. I have tried in vain to produce it and am still trying."

Reason Given for the Practice

In Section C, 2 (b) of the questionnaire we endeavored to find out what in the minds of the writers were the reasons for the practice.

The question was asked:

Which of the following best describes why masturbation was practiced?

I. The desire for the pleasure thus secured. No great difficulty in stopping.
II. The desire for relief from physical tension.
III. Practiced only in or following exceptionally stimulating situations, such as spooning, dancing, reading of suggestive literature, vaudeville. Not troubled apart from such situations.
IV. An uncontrollable impulse, seemingly due to a craving for release from nervous or emotional tension. Effort to stop very unsuccessful.
V. Other reasons than those mentioned above.

We requested that these five items be graded 1, 2, 3, and so forth, according to the importance of the part they had played

TABLE XVIII

REASONS FOR PRACTICE ARRANGED IN ORDER OF THEIR CHOICE

Grade given	In group practicing now		In group that have stopped practice	
	No.	%	No.	%
Reason I				
First	120	56.3	107	60.5
Second	66	31.0	51	28.8
Third	19	8.9	18	10.2
Fourth	8	3.8	.....	.....
Fifth	.....	.....	1	0.6
Total	213	100.0	177	100.0
Not checked	82	.....	63	.....
Combined with another answer	8	.....	.....	.....
Entire question unanswered	5	.....	55	.....
Entire group	308	.....	295	.....
Reason II				
First	53	32.9	36	38.7
Second	81	50.3	46	49.5
Third	24	14.9	10	10.8
Fourth	3	1.9	1	1.1
Fifth	.....	.....	.....	.....
Total	161	100.0	93	100.0
Not checked	137	.....	147	.....
Combined with another group	5	.....	.....	.....
Entire question unanswered	5	.....	55	.....
Total group	308	.....	295	.....

TABLE XVIII (*continued*)

Grade given	In group practicing now		In group that have stopped practice	
	No.	%	No.	%
Reason III				
First	32	28.6	38	45.2
Second	47	42.0	32	38.1
Third	28	25.0	10	11.9
Fourth	4	3.6	4	4.8
Fifth	1	0.9	.....	.....
Total	112	100.0	84	100.0
Not checked	189	.....	156	.....
Combined with another	2	.....	.....	.....
Entire question unanswered	5	.....	55	.....
Total group	308	.....	295	.....
Reason IV				
First	81	64.8	44	62.0
Second	29	23.2	21	29.6
Third	13	10.4	4	5.6
Fourth	2	1.6	1	1.4
Fifth	.....	.....	1	1.4
Total	125	100.0	71	100.0
Not checked	172	.....	169	.....
Combined with another	6	.....	.....	.....
Entire question unanswered	5	.....	55	.....
Total group	308	.....	295	.....
Reason V				
First	7	30.4	7	41.2
Second	8	34.8	8	47.1
Third	3	13.0	2	11.8
Fourth	4	17.4	.....	.....
Fifth	1	4.3	.....	.....
Total	23	100.0	17	100.0
Not checked	280	.....	223	.....
Entire question unanswered	5	.....	55	.....
Total group	308	.....	295	.....

in the writer's own case, and that an X be placed before any items that were not applicable at all.

Table XVIII tabulates the order in which each question was checked. For example, No. I—"The desire for the pleasure thus secured"—was placed first in importance by 120 of the 213 checking this in the group that is practicing now, and by 107 of the 177 who checked it in the group who had stopped the practice.

Five individuals in the first and 55 in the second group failed

TABLE XVIII–B

	First choice		Per-centages		Second choice		Third choice		Fourth choice		Fifth choice	
	Now	Stopped	Now	Stopped	Now	Stopped	Now	Stopped	Now	Stopped	Now	Stopped
No. I	120	107	41.0	46.1	66	51	19	18	8	.....	....	1
No. II	53	36	18.1	15.5	81	46	24	10	3	1	....	.....
No. III	32	38	10.9	16.4	47	32	28	10	4	4	1	.....
No. IV	81	44	27.6	19.0	29	21	13	4	2	1	....	1
No. V	7	7	2.4	3.0	8	8	3	2	4	.....	1	.....
	293	232	100.0	100.0	231	158	87	44	21	6	2	2
Two statements marked (1)	10	5	.....	.....	....	.....	....	.....	....	.....	....	.... ..
No statements marked (1)	....	3	.....	.....	....	.....	....	.....	....	.....	....	.....
Entire question unanswered	5	55	.....	.....	5	55	5	55	5	55	5	55
	308	295	.....	.....	236	213	92	99	26	61	7	57
No second choice	....	.....	.....	.....	72	82	....	.....	....	.....	....	.....
No third choice	....	.....	.....	.....	....	.....	216	196	....	.....	....	.....
No fourth choice	....	.....	.....	.....	....	.....	....	.....	282	234	....	.....
No fifth choice	....	.....	.....	.....	....	.....	....	.....	....	.....	301	238
	308	295	.....	.....	308	295	308	295	308	295	308	295

TABLE XVIII–C

ITEMS CHECKED IN REASON III*

	In group practicing now	In group that have stopped practice
Suggestive literature	49	40
Spooning	16	5
Dancing	6	2
Vaudeville	5	1
No special item checked	51	55

* In a number of cases more than one item was checked.

to check any of the five reasons. Eighty-two and 63, respectively, did not give No. I as a reason, but checked other reasons. It will be noted in comparing the two groups that there is no great difference in the percentages of those checking a given reason.

Table XVIII–B rearranges this data. In the group that has stopped the practice about 5 per cent more than in the group now practicing declare that "pleasure secured" was first among the reasons for the practice. Considering together the second and fourth statements, both involving relief from nervous tension, in the group now practicing 45.7 per cent check one of these as the primary cause. In the group that has stopped, the percentage checked is 34.5 or 11.2 per cent less. This may seem significant, but treated mathematically, twice the deviation of the difference amounts to 13.6 per cent. We cannot, therefore, consider it as a certain difference between groups of this size.

The statement marked V asks for "other reasons than those mentioned above."

Seven individuals in each group marked this 1. The reasons given by those who are now practicing are as follows:

1. "Practiced mostly when I feel extremely blue and lonely and want to be loved by a man I know."
2. Satisfaction of desire of *fiancé.* (Began practice at fourteen years. Discontinued it, but began again when she became engaged. Has had sex intercourse with *fiancé.*)
3. "Curiosity. The desire to increase my sexual responses."
4. "An uncontrollable impulse." (Apparently all of Statement IV does not fit.)
5. Does not call impulse "uncontrollable," but induces orgasm because by so doing she feels "steadied and strengthened." Believes health and nerves better for occasional indulgence: "not oftener than once a month."
6. Sex daydreaming.
7. "After intercourse unsatisfactory to me."

The seven in the group who have stopped the practice and who check V as the principal reason give the following:

1. "By attempt to conceal menstruation before I received instruction regarding garments for it." (No preparation for experience itself.)
2. "For experimentation."
3. "Curiosity to know if it [the orgasm] would occur."

4. "To satisfy imagination as to what effect in feeling sexual intercourse may in part produce."

5. "Curiosity."

6. "The only experience in handling external organs that I had was to wake up in the night and find myself handling the external genital organs. This was no pleasure, but I seemed unable to prevent it. The practice continued until recently (present age, twenty-seven), but do not recall being annoyed with it for several months. It began when I was a child; was never extensive and probably due to itching of these organs, from which I suffered at times until recently."

(N. B. This woman has been engaged to be married for the past sixteen months. Spooning with *fiancé* has been carried to the point of handling of sex organs by man. "My *fiancé* took the initiative and overruled my instinctive scruples," she says. "The worry caused by fear of going too far has been a considerable strain on nervous system.")

7. "Influence of my companions (girls)."

Effect of Masturbation

Two questions under Section C 2 of the questionnaire relate to the effect of masturbation. Question 2 (d): "Did you believe the practice to be harmful?" was intended to refer to the practice in general, not necessarily involving personal experience. The results of the latter were to be presented in question 2 (g): "What, in your opinion, has been its effect upon you?"

Table XIX gives the answers to 2 (d), keeping to the division of those who are practicing masturbation at the present time and those who have stopped the practice.

It will be noted that in the group that has stopped the practice the percentage of those who definitely answer the question yes is 17.2 per cent higher than in the group which practices now. The difference is sufficiently large to be certainly significant. A comparison with Table XX, however, fails to show any significant difference in the proportion of the two groups on the question whether the practice caused "any great amount of worry." It does show that in the group now practicing 12.7 per cent of those reporting who formerly "worried" have adjusted themselves so that they are no longer troubled.

As to their opinions of the effect of masturbation upon themselves, the numbers of women reporting in each group are too small to justify any mathematical comparison.

TABLE XIX

ANSWERS TO THE QUESTION: "DO YOU BELIEVE THE PRACTICE TO BE HARMFUL?"

Reply	In group practicing now		In group that have stopped practice	
	No.	%	No.	%
1. Yes	146	54.5	165	71.7
2. No	97	36.2	56	24.3
3. Yes, if too frequent	10	3.7	8	3.5
4. "Yes and no"	4	1.5	.....	.....
5. Yes, formerly; not now	10	3.7	.....	.....
6. Not physically, but an infantile practice	1	0.4	1	0.4
Total giving definite answers	268	100.0	230	100.0
7. Do not know	26 *	.....	21 †	.....
8. Unanswered	14 *	.....	44 †	.....
Total group	308	.....	295	.....

* These 40 cases constitute 13.0 per cent of the total group of 308 cases.
† These 65 cases constitute 22.0 per cent of the total group of 295 cases.

TABLE XX

ANSWERS TO THE QUESTION: "DID THIS PRACTICE CAUSE YOU ANY GREAT AMOUNT OF WORRY?"

Reply	In group practicing now		In group that have stopped practice	
	No.	%	No.	%
Yes	102	34.9	89	36.5
"Some"	13	4.5	31	12.7
No	140	47.9	124	50.8
Formerly—not now	37	12.7	.....	.....
Total answering	292	100.0	244	100.0
Unanswered	16*	.....	51†	.....
Total group	308	.....	295	.....

* The 16 unanswered cases constitute 5.2 per cent of the total.
† The 51 unanswered cases constitute 17.3 per cent of the total.

TABLE XXI

ANSWERS TO THE QUESTION: "IN YOUR OPINION, WHAT HAS BEEN ITS EFFECT ON YOU?"

Effect	In group practicing now		In group that have stopped practice	
	No.	%	No.	%
None	98	38.3	103	47.9
Good effect	61	23.8	25	11.6
Bad effect	83	32.4	85	39.5
Physical	16	.....	24	.....
Mental	59	.....	53	.....
Both	2	.....	6	.....
Unspecified	6	.....	2	.....
Both good and bad	14	5.5	2	0.9
Total giving definite answers	256	100.0	215	100.0
Unclassified	18	.....	1	.....
Do not know	8	.....	5	.....
Unanswered	26*	.....	74†	.....
Total group	308	.....	295	.....

* These 26 unanswered cases constitute 8.4 per cent of the total group of 308 cases.
† These 74 unanswered cases constitute 25.1 per cent of the total group of 295 cases.

Table XXII requires no comment.

TABLE XXII

ANSWERS TO THE QUESTION: "DID YOU EVER CONSULT ANY ONE ABOUT IT?"

Reply	In group practicing now		In group that have stopped practice	
	No.	%	No.	%
Yes	45	15.1	25	10.0
No	253	84.9	224	90.0
Total answering	298	100.0	249	100.0
Unanswered	10*	.....	46†	.....
Total	308	.....	295	.....

* These 10 unanswered cases constitute 3.2 per cent of the total group of 308 cases.
† These 46 unanswered cases constitute 15.6 per cent of the total group of 295 cases.

It is noticeable that in the last three tables the percentage of the total number who fail to give definite answers is from three to five times as large in the group that have stopped the practice.

In Table XXIII the numbers are too small to admit of mathematical treatment. It is interesting to note, however, the much greater percentage of those in the first group who consulted some one who might be expected to give expert advice.

TABLE XXIII

PERSON CONSULTED AS TO MASTURBATION

Person consulted	In group practicing now	In group that have stopped practice
Mother	6	8
Aunt	.....	1
Sister	1	.....
A girl friend	2	1
An older woman	2	.....
A trained nurse	.....	1
Physicians:		
A woman physician	5	5
A physician (sex unspecified)	15	2
Two different physicians (sex unspecified)	1	.....
First a woman physician, then a man physician	1	.....
A psychiatrist	1	.....
A psychoanalyst	2	1
A Christian Science practitioner	1	.....
Fiancé	2	2
"The man I love and have intercourse with"	1	.....
"A neurologist dragged the question out of me. He was treating me for a nervous breakdown"	.....	1
"My woman physician, my sister, two girl friends, and the man I loved, who was a physician"	1	.....
Medical literature	.....	2
No one except God	2	.....
Total answering	43	24
Unanswered	2	1
Total who had consulted some one	45*	25†

* These 45 cases are 14.6 per cent of the total group of 208 cases.

† These 25 cases are 8.4 per cent of the total group of 295 cases.

We will return now to the questions considered in Tables XIX and XXI. In answer to the question, "In your opinion, what has been its effect upon you?" the writers have for the most part not been content with answering simply "good" or "bad," but have made statements concerning the nature of the effect. The same thing is true of the answers to the question concerning the harmfulness of the practice.

In order to discover any possible connection between experience and opinion, we have correlated the answers to the two questions in Tables XXIV and XXV, relating respectively to the two general groups we have been considering. Following each table, we present in detail first the specific answers as to effect on the individual under each group heading as shown in the table, and second, preserving the same grouping as to effect, the beliefs of the individuals composing the group as to the general harmfulness of the practice. So far as possible, we have used the phrases or sentences of the writers. Where this is the case, it is indicated by quotation marks. So far as is humanly possible, we have refrained from putting our own interpretation of an answer into our classification. This accounts for the unclassified group and the numerous "effects" given by one individual only.

The most striking result of the correlations is the inconsistency of opinion and experience. Thus, in Table XXIV we find 61 women who are continuing the practice who from their own experience state their belief that the effects upon themselves have been physically beneficial. Fifteen of these, however, believe that in general the practice is harmful. On the other hand, 4 of the 83 who have experienced bad physical effects believe that the practice is not harmful.

Ninety-eight state that they felt no effects of any kind. Of these, 38 believe the practice to be harmful and 39 believe it not to be.

TABLE XXIV

CORRELATION OF ANSWERS TO (*d*): "DID YOU BELIEVE THIS PRACTICE TO BE HARMFUL?" WITH (*c*): "IN YOUR OPINION WHAT HAS BEEN ITS EFFECT UPON YOU?" IN THE GROUP WHO NOW PRACTICE MASTURBATION

Answers to Question (*d*)

Effect	Total	Yes	No	Yes, if too frequent	Yes and no	Yes, formerly; not now	Not physically, but infantile practice	Do not know	Unanswered
1. Good effect	61	15	37	.....	.....	4	.....	5	.....
2. Bad effect	83	67	4	.....	2	.....	.....	9	1
3. Both good and bad	14	8	2	.....	1	1	.....	1	1
4. Effect unclassified	18	7	7	.....	.....	3	.....	1	.....
5. No effect	98	38	39	8	.....	2	1	6	4
6. Do not know	8	4	1	.....	.....	.....	.....	3	.....
7. Unanswered	26	7	7	2	1	.....	.....	1	8
Total who practice masturbation now	308	146	97	10	4	10	1	26	14

The detailed answers of this group to the two questions follow:

GROUP I. THOSE NOW PRACTICING MASTURBATION WHO BELIEVE EFFECT HAS BEEN GOOD

Relief from nervous tension (in some cases also added ability to concentrate on work, greater sympathy and understanding of others, etc.)	29
Relief from mental depression and despair	1
Has improved disposition; headaches have disappeared; general health better	1
More contented	2
Less bad-tempered	1
Satisfies emotional craving	1
"Stabilized my nervous system"	1
No physical result, but made them more tolerant of other people	9
Effect is stimulating—refreshing	2
A relief from sleeplessness	3
Gave greater understanding of sexual matters	2
Took away conceit—gave greater sympathy for weakness in others	1
Improved health in every way	1
"A valuable safety valve"	1
"More normal because of it"	1
"Salutary at the moment and not harmful in the end"	1
"I think it has kept me sane"	1
"Effect has been good—*i.e.*, better than long periods of sexual starvation"	1
"Has given poise and dignity. Has taken away an undignified sort of curiosity I felt previously"	1
"Has furnished valuable information"	1
Total	61

TABLE XXIV (*continued*)

GROUP II. THOSE NOW PRACTICING MASTURBATION WHO BELIEVE EFFECT HAS BEEN BAD

Mental effects:		
Caused loss of self-respect, feelings of shame, disgust, remorse, etc	41	
A fear for years—dread of having to confess in case of marriage	1	
"Probably increased a tendency to introversion. I strongly suspect that I should find actual sexual intercourse a disagreeable experience. . . . A certain amount of perversion, in other words"	1	
"Physiological effects tremendously harmful—dread of ostracism, insanity, and spiritual punishment"	1	
Caused serious worry—no physical effects	1	
Weakened will power	4	
Causes too great thoughts of sex	1	
Dulled mental alertness; tendency to be morbid	2	
Less active brain; loss of mental energy	2	
Loss of efficiency in work	3	
Restlessness—inability to concentrate	1	
Believe it has affected memory	1	
		59
Physical effects:		
Has produced or increased nervousness	10	
Effect physically weakening	2	
"Weakened my back"	1	
Lowered vitality	2	
Sluggish and poor circulation, pasty complexion	1	
		16
Effect bad, unspecified		2
Both physical and mental:		
Morally degrading. Believes it has something to do with irregular menstruation	1	
Weakened mental power; led to sex intercourse	1	
"Weakened my character and injured my health"	1	
"Weakened me morally—induced bad headaches"	1	
Physical lassitude—"blurring of intellect and of æsthetic and critical sense"	1	
Physically has caused nervousness; mentally has produced great fear of being found out	1	
		6
Total		83

GROUP III. THOSE NOW PRACTICING MASTURBATION WHO BELIEVE EFFECT HAS BEEN BOTH GOOD AND BAD

Nervously exciting at times; at others soothing and conducive to sleep	1
Produces nervousness and self-consciousness, but makes more sympathetic and helpful to girls she works with	1
Makes her tired—produces feeling of shame, but is "glad to have that much of sex life"	1
Leads to feeling of weakness and depression, but helps her in understanding girls	1
Produced pain in top of her head, but "was a step toward deeper sex experience and understanding of self." (Thirty-two years old, secretary; has had sex intercourse)	1

TABLE XXIV (*continued*)

Lack of self-control has lessened self-respect, but more sympathetic to people who have yielded to temptation	1
Causes sleeplessness and tension, but understands girls better (an M.D.)	1
Shameful failure in self-control, but physical relief and gives ability to concentrate on work	1
"Physical relief has been good, but worry about it has been bad"	1
"Physically, has caused nervousness and over-sensitiveness to all sense impressions. Mentally, made me more tolerant of weakness in others"	1
Sometimes soothing and puts her to sleep, but she believes it is connected with neuritis of arm	1
In adolescence caused nervousness; now a relief from tension	1
Has given physical and mental relief, but has caused mental uneasiness in past, as she was taught as a child it was wrong	1
Led to impure thoughts and weakened will, but has taught something of strength of sex desire and made her more charitable	1
Total	14

GROUP IV. THOSE NOW PRACTICING MASTURBATION UPON WHOM EFFECT IS UNCLASSIFIED BY THEM

Stimulated sex interest	3
"Convinced me that I am not frigid, but repressed to an unnatural extent"	1
"Caused me to develop the powers necessary to struggle against it"	1
"Chief effect is that it has made me more sensitive to sex stimuli—desire physical side of marriage. Previous to practice had no real understanding of passion." (Age thirty-one)	1
Relief from strain, coupled with increased desire for full satisfaction	1
Thinks experience as a child kept her from feeling a normal passion for opposite sex	1
"Formerly I think the worry entailed by feeling that my sex impulses were strong (when I supposed that sex processes should normally go on without any sensations whatever), and that I had not the will power to stop them, was one of the factors leading to a nervous breakdown. Now, althoughI try to avoid it as much as possible and while it seems a bit abnormal, I am not worried by it"	1
"Probably not harmful, but necessary to full sexual development." (Believes it harmful in general)	1
"Makes men attractive to me"	1
"Perhaps has affected my heterosexual impulses by providing satisfaction in another way"	1
"Makes me long for marriage"	1
"The desire for relief seems to wipe out all my usual inhibitions along this line. I suppose this means weakening of will"	1
"A very clear idea of the difference between instinct and love"	1
"Greater sex desire when tired"	1
"Am afraid now to love a woman. Has made me stand-offish in making friends." (Has practiced mutual masturbation)	1
"I do not believe that it has harmed me morally or mentally. I do think that it has led to emotional experiences with other girls"	1
Total	18

TABLE XXIV (*continued*)

GROUP I. ANSWERS OF THOSE WHO FIND EFFECT GOOD IN THEIR PERSONAL EXPERIENCE TO QUESTION 2(*d*): "DID YOU BELIEVE THIS PRACTICE HARMFUL? IF SO, WHY?"

No, unqualified	10	
No; from personal experience	20	
No, if in moderation	5	
No; gathered from reading and doctor	2	
		37
Yes, because they have read so, though they find beneficial results in their own cases	8	
Yes, believes it unnatural	1	
Yes; special cases—"mental complex"	1	
Yes, "if indulged in for pleasure"	1	
Yes. Innate feeling of wrongdoing	1	
Yes, because usually associated with introspection and morbidity	1	
Yes. "New England conscience thinks it should be; experience does not seem to prove it so." In her own case has made her more sympathetic with people who are tempted	1	
Yes; injurious to self-respect generally. In own case relief from mental distress and despair	1	
		15
Yes, in past; has learned to control it and finds beneficial results		4
Do not know. (One adds, "Feel it to be adultery")		5
Total		61

GROUP II. ANSWERS TO QUESTION 2(*d*) OF THOSE WHO FIND EFFECTS BAD IN THEIR OWN PERSONAL EXPERIENCE

Yes. Based on own experience and what they have read and heard	67
Yes, when practiced for pleasure; for relief, no	1
No, though ashamed of practice	3
Yes and no	1
"No, not particularly"	1
Do not know	9
Unanswered	1
Total	83

GROUP III. ANSWERS TO QUESTION 2(*d*) OF THOSE WHO FIND BOTH GOOD AND BAD EFFECTS IN PERSONAL EXPERIENCE

"See no harm for one of my age." (36.) In the past has caused nervousness; now relieves nervous tension	1
Yes and no (from personal experience)	1
No; has had a vague idea it "isn't the thing to do"; from personal experience has had no harmful physical effect. Finds it nervously exciting at times; at times soothing	2
Yes—personal and told so	8

TABLE XXIV (*continued*)

Do not know	1
Unanswered	1
Total	14

GROUP IV. ANSWERS TO QUESTION 2(*d*) OF THOSE WHOSE ANSWERS IN REGARD TO PERSONAL EXPERIENCE WERE UNCLASSIFIED

Not certain		1
Yes, formerly; no, at present		3
Yes; made more sensitive to sexual stimuli	2	
Yes, unqualified	1	
Yes; diverts thoughts from work	1	
Yes. "I believe it grows in intensity. It must be degrading and leads to nothing good." (For effect on self, she states: "I believe it makes men more attractive to me.")	1	
		5
Yes. "Have read so"		1
Not physically—has caused feeling of shame in own case	1	
No—because of no personal ill effect	1	
No, because of belief that "effect is same as that of sexual intercourse, which is usually considered beneficial"	1	
No, not physically	1	
No, because of own mental attitude. Looks upon it as prophylaxis	1	
No. Has not thought about it	1	
No, because in own case motive is not directly associated with sex	1	
No, merely rather dirty	1	
		8
Total		18

GROUP V. ANSWERS TO QUESTION 2(*d*) OF THOSE WHO BELIEVE THERE HAS BEEN NO EFFECT UPON THEM

Yes, if practiced too often	3	
No, unless practiced too often	5	
		8
No, unqualified		17
No, because no harmful effects observed in own case		12
No effects observed, but had always heard so		2
No; "natural" or normal		3
Yes, formerly, because thought unnatural No, now, because no ill effect observed		2
No, because three different doctors told her so		1
No, from her observation of her own case, but "I knew it was bad for boys. Had never heard of it being done by girls, and I wondered whether it was harmful, but seeing no bad effect in my own case, decided it was not"		1
No, "except as any habit may become tyrannical"		1
No, "but undesirable"		1

TABLE XXIV (*continued*)

No, "but unæsthetic"	1
Yes, unqualified	1
Yes, physically and mentally	1
Yes, because of difficulty of stopping practice	2
Yes, unnatural or abnormal	4
Yes; "did not know it was normal"	1
Yes, because it must consume energy or vitality	7
Yes; must produce thought of sex	1
Yes; knew it instinctively	1
Yes, because it lowers self-respect	1
Yes, because it might lead to mental or physical disorder	1
Yes, morally—not physically	1
Yes; an artificial nervous stimulus with no proper physiological outlet	1
Yes, formerly because a secret practice; now she does not. (Has had sex experiences with men)	1
Yes; temporary feeling of shame	1
Yes; may increase dissatisfaction on account of stimulation of desire	1
Not physically, but is an infantile form of gratification	1
Yes, because they have been taught or have read so	13
"Cannot say," "do not know," "in honest doubt"	6
Unanswered	4
Total	98

GROUP VI. ANSWERS TO QUESTION 2(*d*) OF THOSE WHO "DO NOT KNOW" WHAT THE PERSONAL EFFECT HAS BEEN

No	1
Not to health; rather beneficial; causes shame	1
Yes, have read or been told so	3
"Don't think it has harmed me, but may have taken away ambition and initiative"	1
"Am wondering—because practice grows more frequent"	1
Do not know	1
Total	8

GROUP VII. ANSWERS TO QUESTION 2(*d*) OF THOSE WHO DID NOT ANSWER IN REGARD TO PERSONAL EXPERIENCE

No, unqualified	5
No, in moderation	1
Yes, when practiced too frequently	1
No, because it satisfies instincts which might become uncontrollable	1
"Do not think so, but all comments would lead me to believe it so"	1
Physically, no; mentally, yes	1
Yes, unqualified	1
Yes; have been told or read so	3
Yes, emotionally	1

TABLE XXIV (*continued*)

Yes; it seems like an attempt to substitute something for an experience unmarried women are destined not to have	1
Yes; "spiritually degrading; indicates lack of control, character, will power"	1
Do not know	1
Unanswered	8
Total	26

Table XXV gives the correlation of the answers of the women who have stopped the practice.

TABLE XXV

CORRELATION OF ANSWERS TO (*d*): "DID YOU BELIEVE THIS PRACTICE TO BE HARMFUL?" WITH (*g*): "IN YOUR OPINION WHAT HAS BEEN ITS EFFECT UPON YOU?" FOR THE GROUP WHO HAVE STOPPED THE PRACTICE

Answers to Question (*d*)

Effect	Total	Yes	No	Yes and no	Yes, if too frequent	Not physically, but infantile practice	Do not know	Unanswered
1. Good effect	25	12	7	.....	3	.....	1	2
2. Bad effect	85	68	8	.....	2	.....	5	2
3. Both good and bad	2	2	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
4. Effect unclassified	1	.....	1	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
5. No effect	103	56	30	.....	2	1	8	6
6. Do not know	5	2	1	.....	.....	.....	2	.....
7. Unanswered	74	25	9	.....	1	.....	5	34
Total who have stopped practice	295	165	56	.....	8	1	21	44

The detailed answers to the two questions in this group were as follows:

DETAIL OF ANSWERS TO QUESTION: "IN YOUR OPINION WHAT HAS BEEN ITS EFFECTS UPON YOU?" FOR THE GROUP WHO HAVE STOPPED THE PRACTICE

Good effects		
Gave relief from tension	8	
Made for understanding, consideration, and charitableness	8	
"Taught me something I wanted to know"	1	
Stimulated mentally	1	
Less harmful than prolonged nervous tension	2	
"Made me wiser and more careful"	1	
"Taught me to guard other children"	1	
Stimulated and increased heart action	1	
"Gave me a sense of power because I was able to break a seated habit"	1	
"A release for natural sex feeling which would otherwise have shown itself in being crazy about boys"	1	
		25

TABLE XXV (*continued*)

Bad effects, physical		
Weakening, debilitating	5	
Connected it with general fatigue	2	
Developed local sensitiveness	1	
Produced or increased nervousness	7	
Partly cause of nervous breakdown	1	
Produced insomnia	2	
Weakened nervous system and bladder control	1	
Replaced normal sex relations	2	
Caused pimples	1	
Caused enlarged thyroid and leucorrhea (latter either cause or result)	1	
"Am only five feet tall; think it stopped my growth"	1	
	—	24
Bad effects, mental		
Caused feeling of shame	7	
Caused depressed sense of disapproval	1	
Caused abnormal self-consciousness	3	
Caused greater sex consciousness	3	
Caused feelings of disgust, inferiority, loss of self-respect	13	
Caused feelings of moral or spiritual degradation	5	
Caused mental distress and depression	3	
Caused worry, distress, and depression	2	
Caused dislike of meeting people	1	
Caused inability to remember common words	1	
Caused attacks of acute melancholia	1	
Spoiled a good mind	1	
"Made me self-centered and reserved"	2	
No physical bad effect, but "to do what one thinks is wrong is bad morally"	1	
"Made a certain dissociation within me because I felt it an illegitimate sex pleasure"	1	
Weakened moral fiber and increased tendency to sex thoughts	2	
"An unpleasant memory"	1	
"Made me afraid to marry"	1	
Fear lest she reveal practice in delirium	1	
Increased pessimism	1	
Weakened moral fiber and dissipated power of concentration	1	
Great mental effect because of imagined results	1	
	—	53
Both physical and mental bad effects		
A feeling of relief, followed by a feeling of shame; then a period of intense resolve	1	
Injury to both health and self-respect	2	
Believes she could have done better mental and physical work but for habit	1	
Increased nervous and emotional sensibility	1	
"Caused the only serious illness in my life, an operation and suicidal tendencies"	1	
	—	6
Bad effects, unspecified		2

TABLE XXV (*continued*)

Both good and bad effects		
"Relieved tension, but induced fear of possible bad consequences and shame that I had yielded"	1	
"It sapped vitality, but now I've lived through it, I have a strength of mind and character I might not have had otherwise"	1	
	—	2
Unclassified		
"None, except that I wonder about practice among girls today"	1	
Do not know	5	
Unanswered	74	
	—	80
No effects		103
Total		295

GROUP I. ANSWERS OF THOSE WHO HAVE STOPPED PRACTICE, BUT FOUND EFFECT GOOD IN THEIR PERSONAL EXPERIENCE TO QUESTION 2 (*d*): "DID YOU BELIEVE THIS PRACTICE TO BE HARMFUL? IF SO, WHY?"

No, unqualified	4	
No; from personal experience	2	
No; "it seems a natural reaction to certain stimuli"	1	
	—	7
Yes, unqualified	1	
Yes, spiritually and physically	1	
Yes; "puts to ignoble use a noble power"	1	
Yes; taught so by mother	1	
Yes; knew father and mother thought so	1	
Yes; told it induced insanity	1	
Yes; heard it was	1	
Yes; may produce nervous tension	1	
Yes; read so	1	
Yes; wastes energy	1	
Yes; trains subconscious mind to dishonesty	1	
Yes, as anger, fear, or any intense emotion is harmful	1	
	—	12
Yes, if too frequent		3
Do not know		1
Unanswered		2
Total		25

TABLE XXV (*continued*)

GROUP II. ANSWERS TO QUESTION 2 (*d*) OF THOSE WHO FIND EFFECT BAD IN PERSONAL EXPERIENCE

No, unqualified	2	
No; only in a vague way	1	
No, not at the time	3	
No, because has not affected physical health, but has increased her pessimism	1	
No; has caused her to lose her self-respect, but has not injured health	1	
	—	8
Yes, unqualified	4	
Yes, because had read or been told so	14	
Yes, from personal experience	37	
Yes; instinct, conscience, ethical principles, etc., said so	6*	
Yes, physically, mentally, and spiritually	1	
Yes; it seems unnatural	1	
Yes; it is degrading, unclean, secretive	1	
Yes; not necessary or right	1	
Yes; might lead to harmful practices	1	
Yes, as it produces feeling of shame	2	
Yes, if too frequent	2	
"I do not know"	5	
Unanswered	2	
	—	77
Total		85

GROUP III. ANSWERS TO QUESTION 2 (*d*) OF THOSE WHO FOUND EFFECT BOTH GOOD AND BAD

Yes. "I knew it to be abnormal, and I loathed the lustful imaginative element in it deeply."
Yes; "not physically, but spiritually, as evidence of weak control."

GROUP IV. ANSWERS TO QUESTION 2 (*d*) OF THOSE WHOSE ANSWERS WERE UNCLASSIFIED AS TO PERSONAL EFFECT

No, from personal experience.

* One of these writes: "I believe it to be a moral disgrace and a physical injury. I believed it would make it wrong for me to marry without confession, a thought that appalled me. I was deeply religious and had a dreadful sense of disloyalty to God and all that I wanted to be true."

TABLE XXV (*continued*)

GROUP V. ANSWERS TO QUESTION 2 (*d*) OF THOSE WHO BELIEVE THERE HAS BEEN NO EFFECT UPON THEM

Yes, unqualified	5	
Yes; had read or been taught so	14	
Yes; abnormal and unnatural	5	
Yes; religious and moral scruples	8	
Yes; waste of nerve force	4	
Yes; not open and frank	1	
Yes; from observation	1	
Yes; danger of starting hetero-erotic desires	1	
Yes; "sex impulse has got to be sublimated in unmarried women"	1	
Yes; leads to feelings of shame and remorse—uncleanness	6	
Yes. "I believe in normal intercourse. Danger of this practice spoiling pleasure in intercourse. It might weaken one"	1	
Yes. "Granting the legitimacy of sex pleasure, this form is rarely associated with clean associations. You don't care to think of a man you really love and honor in connection with it"	1	
Yes; danger of carrying it too far	4	
Yes; makes people more "shut in"	1	
Yes; leads one to think too much of sex matters	3	
	—	56
Yes, if too frequent		2
No, unqualified	18	
No; too ignorant at time (misunderstood question)	2	
No; from personal experience	6	
No, except I knew others would not approve	1	
No, "not physically"	1	
No. "I read it was not harmful except when one worried about it"	1	
No. "It did not occur to me that it was a common practice; I supposed it individual"	1	
	—	30
No, not physically—only silly		1
"I do not know"		8
Unanswered		6
Total		103

GROUP VI. ANSWERS TO QUESTION 2 (*d*) OF THOSE WHO "DO NOT KNOW" WHAT THE PERSONAL EFFECT HAS BEEN

No; from personal experience	1
Yes; it degrades character	1
Yes; "not from personal experience, but have read so"	1
Do not know	2
Total	5

TABLE XXV (*continued*)

GROUP VII. ANSWERS TO QUESTION 2 (*d*) OF THOSE WHO DID NOT ANSWER IN REGARD TO PERSONAL EFFECT

Yes, unqualified	6	
Yes; taught so	4	
Yes; from personal experience	4	
Yes; unnatural, unwholesome, unclean	4	
Yes; bad mental effect	2	
Yes; might lead to immorality	1	
Yes; harmful to character	1	
Yes; "instinctive feeling"	1	
Yes; "if to excess"	1	
Yes; "leads to unproductive interests"	1	
Yes, if too frequent	1	
	—	26
No, unqualified	4	
No, "only wrong"	1	
No; a relief rather than a harm	3	
No, but "I don't think it a nice thing"	1	
	—	9
"I do not know"		5
Unanswered		34
Total		74

Correlation of Masturbation with Present Health

Unquestionably the most important consideration in connection with masturbation is its effect upon health, both physical and mental. The material on which the present study is based gives certain data that are at least suggestive.

On page 1 of our questionnaire, "general information," we ask for the following information as to general health:

Grade each period as follows: very poor—poor—fair—good—excellent

(a) During childhood (until menstruation)
(b) During adolescence (up to college)
(c) During college years
(d) Since college years

These questions precede by five pages those relating to masturbation.

Only 1 woman out of the first 1,000 failed to answer the question as to health. Only 7 women stated that their health since

college had been "very poor" and but 44 answered "poor." We have classed these together in considering health.

Table XXVI gives the answers to the question of present health divided among the various groups we have been considering. Three-quarters of the entire group are enjoying good or excellent health.

TABLE XXVI

CORRELATION OF MASTURBATION WITH PRESENT HEALTH

Present health	Entire group		Group practicing now		Group that have stopped practice		Group that have never practiced		Unanswered as to masturbation	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Excellent	394	39.4	134	43.5	103	35.0	130	39.8	27	38.6
Good	375	37.5	116	37.7	107	36.4	121	37.0	31	44.3
Fair	179	17.9	42	13.6	64	21.8	64	19.6	9	12.9
Poor	51	5.1	16	5.2	20	6.8	12	3.7	3	4.3
	999	100.0	308	100.0	294	100.0	327	100.0	70	100.0
Unanswered as to health	1	.....	.....	.....	1	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Total	1,000	.....	308	.....	295	.....	327	.....	70	.....
Excellent+good	769	77.0	250	81.2*	210	71.4*	251	76.8	58	82.9
Fair+poor	230	23.0	58	18.8	84	28.6	76	23.2	12	17.1
	999	100.0	308	100.0	294	100.0	327	100.0	70	100.0

As between the various groups making up the whole, an inspection of the table shows the greatest percentage difference between the group that is practicing now and the group that has stopped the practice.

Adding together "good" and "excellent" and "fair" and "poor," the size of the groups and the percentage of difference make it possible to show that it is certainly significant, and that the better health of the group now practicing is a real difference and not due to chance sampling. These groups are indicated by the stars in the table.

Differences between other groups are not sufficiently large to be significant.

The question suggested itself as to the relationship, if any, of health to the time of beginning masturbation. If the practice is begun in mature years, is it more or less likely to be physically

harmful? To determine this we placed in the two groups "18 years and over" and "under 18 years" all cases that could be assigned definitely to these periods. We also combined "excellent" with "good" and "fair" with "poor" in order to obtain groups sufficiently large for mathematical comparison, but between no two groups were there any appreciable differences.

Correlation of Masturbation with Present Sex Problems

Section IV of our questionnaire deals with sex problems. It is introduced as follows:

> Another very important aspect of this study of the sex life is a knowledge of the problems which have arisen from time to time in the lives of individuals. At present we have meager data. We do not know, even approximately, what proportion of people have sex problems at different periods of their development. We do not know in any detail the nature of these problems. And what is of still greater importance, we do not know how they have handled them. We have reason to believe that the problems of childhood are not the problems of adolescence; that the problems of adolescence are not those of adulthood.
>
> In the interest of a better understanding of the sex life, we earnestly ask that you give frank and full replies to the following questions:
>
> 1. Are you being bothered with anything pertaining to sex now? Please describe the problem in detail.
>
> What do you think is the reason or cause of it?
>
> What are you doing to solve this problem?

Other questions follow, dealing with the periods of adolescence and childhood. For our immediate purposes we concern ourselves simply with present problems. We have tabulated the answers to Question 1 of Section IV as shown in Table XXVII.

Where masturbation itself offers a problem to the individual, it has been separated from other sex problems.

Sixty-nine members of the total group have not been able to adjust the mental conflicts that have resulted from the practice. Of these, 65 still continue masturbation. Most frequently, where the character of the problem is discussed in detail, it concerns itself with moral or ethical considerations, occasionally with the

TABLE XXVII

CORRELATION OF MASTURBATION WITH PRESENT SEX PROBLEMS

Problems	Entire group		Group practicing now		Group that have stopped practice		Group that never practiced		Unanswered as to masturbation	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Has no problem	540	59.1	139	46.3*	143	57.4*	208	68.9*	50	80.6
Problem masturbation	69	7.6	65	21.7	4	1.6	.....	.....	.....	.....
Has another problem	304	33.3	96	32.0	102	41.0	94	31.1	12	19.4
	913	100.0	300	100.0	249	100.0	302	100.0	62	100.0
Unanswered	87	.....	8	.....	46	.....	25	.....	8	.....
Total	1,000	.....	308	.....	295	.....	327	.....	70	.....

* Differences in percentages sufficiently large to be significant.

fear of physical or mental consequences which reading or teaching leads them to believe may follow.

In a considerable number of cases a word or phrase such as "masturbation," "wickedness of masturbation," is all that is given.

Inspection of the table shows that the largest percentage of those with no problem occurs in the group that have never practiced masturbation and the next largest in the group that have stopped the practice. The differences, when compared with the group now practicing, are large enough to be significant.

On account of the significant difference in present health between the groups that have stopped and that are now practicing, a comparison seemed interesting between "other sex problems" in these two groups. It appeared possible that the higher percentage in the group that had stopped the practice (9.0) might be significant, or more specifically that the giving up of the practice of masturbation, with the possible easing up of conscience in this respect, might be followed by the substitution of some other sex problem.

To obtain a larger group, we added the cases found in the extra 183 questionnaires.[1] This raised the number that had "other" sex problems in the group that had stopped the practice

[1] The number on hand when this study was made.

to 117 and in the group now practicing to 159, but did not materially affect the difference, which was still too small to be significant.

In addition to the 69 cases in which masturbation is considered a present problem, there are 35 others who, in the section devoted to problems, stated that they had so considered it in the past, but had made their adjustments.

Many of those who have stopped the practice never considered it a problem, especially those who had carried it on only in childhood. A number of women, mostly teachers, find it a problem in dealing with children in their care, although not a personal problem.

CHAPTER VII

SOME AUTO-EROTIC PRACTICES—MARRIED WOMEN

The married women's questionnaire differed from that used later for unmarried women in some important structural particulars. In the first place, we used in the former a classification based on age instead of on subject. For example, in both cases, Section I deals with questions of general information. Section II in the married women's questionnaire brings together all the experiences that occurred in childhood up to fourteen years. Section III, dealing with the fourteen years up to the marriage period, covers much the same grounds, but with additions. Section IV deals entirely with marriage, and Section V is for women who have passed the menopause.

In the questionnaire for unmarried women, Section II deals exclusively with sex information and sex instruction, Section III with sex feeling and sex experience (this is by far the longest portion), while Section IV concerns itself with sex problems.

Another very important difference is the much greater space given in the second questionnaire to explanation and definition. The necessity for this had been taught us by experience. For this reason we found less precision in the answers to the married women's questionnaire and more frequent misunderstanding of the terms used.

The Extent of Auto-Erotic Practices

In Section II of the married women's questionnaire, dealing with the experiences of childhood up to fourteen years, without definition or reference to the orgasm, we ask concerning masturbation:

16. Did you enter during childhood (up to 14 years) into any definite sex practices of any kind:

(1) Masturbation (handling of the sex organs to produce sex pleasure)?

If so:

(a) What led you into this practice? Was it spontaneous or suggested by others?
(b) At what age did you begin it?
(c) How long did you continue it?
(d) How frequently did you practice it?

In the following section, dealing with the period from fourteen years to marriage, we ask precisely the same question in the same words.

In the section dealing with marriage no question is asked concerning masturbation. It is difficult, therefore, at some points to make accurate comparisons with the data furnished by the unmarried women's questionnaire.

In answer to question 16 (1), of Section II, 246 women admitted the practice of masturbation or the handling of sex organs for pleasure. In Section III, to the same question, 292 replied in the affirmative. Of these, 157 had continued the practice from childhood, while 135 had begun after the fourteenth birthday.

Having failed to ask any questions concerning masturbation after marriage, our only knowledge of the continuance of the practice comes by comparing age at beginning and length of time the practice continued with age at marriage, except in the 24 cases where the writer says "all my life" in answer to 16 (1) (c).

Thus we are able to say in 62 cases only that the practice was continued after marriage, but in no case that it was *begun* after marriage.

It will be recalled that of the 1,000 unmarried college women, 603, or 64.8, of those replying admitted the practice at some time. Table I shows that the percentage of married women who admit the practice is 24.7 per cent lower.

If, however, we examine Tables III and IV of the preceding chapter, we find that we can definitely place 94 individuals of

TABLE I

EXTENT OF PRACTICE OF MASTURBATION (HANDLING SEX ORGANS FOR PLEASURE)

	No.	%
Practiced at some time	381	40.1
Denied any practice	570	59.9
Total replying	951	100.0
Unanswered	49	.....
Grand total	1,000	.....

the unmarried group as having begun the practice at twenty-five years or later. Deducting these from our total 603, together with the 80 whom we cannot place as to age, we find that 429 individuals, or 46 per cent, began the practice before the age at which the average member of the second group married. (The average age at marriage was 25.7 years.) Comparing this latter percentage with the percentage of the married women who admitted the practice, we get a difference of only 6 per cent between the two groups. Certain reasons for the difference in this particular may be surmised, but any discussion of them would carry us further into the field of interpretation than it is wise to go.

Age Distribution

Table II shows the age distribution of the married women at the time of reporting, divided as to practice of masturbation into the groups of those who admitted masturbation, those who denied it, and those who did not answer the question. It will be noted that the difference in average age of those who admitted and those who denied masturbation is only one year, a difference not large enough to be significant.

Age at Which Practice Began

Table III shows the ages at which the practice began in the two general groups of those who began before and after fourteen years of age. In both groups, those who failed to give their

TABLE II

PRESENT AGES OF THOSE REPORTING AND NOT REPORTING AS TO MASTURBATION

Age	Total group	Masturbated	Never masturbated	Unanswered as to masturbation
Unanswered	13	4	9	.....
21 years	3	2	1	.....
22 years	2	1	1	.....
23 years	3	2	1	.....
24 years	8	4	3	1
25 years	17	6	11	.....
26 years	33	13	17	3
27 years	30	10	18	2
28 years	50	16	32	2
29 years	44	26	17	1
30 years	68	26	38	4
31 years	52	18	32	2
32 years	44	21	21	2
33 years	48	14	32	2
34 years	27	9	15	3
35 years	37	14	21	2
36 years	30	11	17	2
37 years	25	14	10	1
38 years	40	17	23	.....
39 years	40	12	26	2
40 years	36	12	23	1
41 years	20	10	10	.....
42 years	35	11	19	5
43 years	29	12	13	4
44 years	27	12	14	1
45 years	24	8	15	1
46 years	25	11	12	2
47 years	22	5	16	1
48 years	16	7	9	.....
49 years	16	5	11	.....
50 years	15	5	10	.....
51 years	14	8	5	1
52 years	11	4	6	1
53 years	12	4	8	.....
54 years	9	4	5	.....
55 years	11	4	6	1
56 years	6	.....	6	.....
57 years	6	2	4	.....
58 years	9	2	6	1
59 years	8	2	6	.....
60 years	2	1	1	.....
61 years	4	2	2	.....
62 years	5	3	2	.....

TABLE II (*continued*)

Age	Total group	Masturbated	Never masturbated	Unanswered as to masturbation
63 years	2	1	1	.....
64 years	2	1	1	.....
65 years	6	3	3	.....
66 years	1	.....	1	.....
67 years	2	1	1	.....
68 years	3	1	2	.....
69 years	3	.....	3	.....
70 years	1	.....	.....	1
74 years	1	.....	1	.....
76 years	1	.....	1	.....
79 years	1	.....	1	.....
83 years	1	.....	1	.....
Total	1000	381	570	49
Oldest	83	68	83	70
Youngest	21	21	21	24
Mode	30	29 and 30	30	42
Average	38.3	37.7	38.7	37.7

ages and those who could not remember them stated, nevertheless, that the practice was begun in this period.

TABLE III

AGE AT BEGINNING MASTURBATION

A. THOSE WHO BEGAN PRACTICE IN CHILDHOOD (BEFORE FOURTEEN)

Age at which practice began	No.	
Unanswered	6	
Exact age not remembered	13	
		— 19
In infancy—very young		21
3 years		1
4 years		6
Before 5		2

TABLE III (*continued*)

Age at which practice began	No.
5 years	22
6 years	7
Before 7	1
7 years	14
Before 8	1
8 years	25
9 years	21
10 years	27
11 years	25
Before 12	1
12 years	32
13 years	17
13 to 14 years	4
Total	246

B. THOSE WHO BEGAN PRACTICE IN GIRLHOOD (FOURTEEN YEARS TO MARRIAGE)

Age at which practice began	No.	
Unanswered	6	
Exact age not remembered	6	
		— 12
Early 'teens		2
Late 'teens		1
"High-school age"		1
14 years		13
15 years		13
16 years		12
17 years		5
18 years		14
19 years		8
20 years		8
After 20 years		4
21 years		5
22 years		9
23 years		9
24 years		4
25 years		7
26 years		2
27 years		3
28 years		1
30 years		1
34 years		1
Total		135

Education and Practice of Masturbation

The only group of women of less than collegiate education concerning whom we have information is the group of 308 included in our study of married women.

In Table IV we have correlated education with the practice of masturbation.

It will be noted from this table that the difference between the percentages of the two educational groups of those admitting the

TABLE IV

PRACTICE OF MASTURBATON CORRELATED WITH EDUCATION

Practice	Total group		College graduates		Less than college education		Education unascertained
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.
Masturbated	381	40.1	270	41.1	111	37.9	.....
Denied masturbation	570	59.9	387	58.9	182	62.1	1
Total replying	951	100.0	657	100.0	293	100.0	1
Unanswered	49	.....	34	.....	15	.....	.....
Total	1000	.....	691	.....	308	.....	1

practice is only 3.2 per cent. This difference is not large enough to be significant. If, however, we divide these two groups into the age groups at time of beginning the practice that we used in the study of unmarried women, we observe some differences, which, mathematically considered, can be said to be certainly significant.

The difference between the college and non-college graduates who began the practice before and including eleven years amounts to 14.9 per cent. This difference is large enough to be certainly significant. Just why a lower percentage of girls who will later go to college should begin the practice at this early age

TABLE V

AGE AT BEGINNING MASTURBATION GIVEN IN THE AGE GROUPS USED IN STUDY OF UNMARRIED WOMEN AND CORRELATED WITH EDUCATION†

Up to and including	Unmarried women		Total group		Married women			
					College graduates		Non-college graduates	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
11 years	255	48.4	174	50.3	112	45.9	62	60.8
12–14 years	61	11.6	66	19.1	50	20.5	16	15.7
15–17 years	23	4.3	30	8.7	21	8.6	9	8.8
18 years and over	188	35.7	76	22.0	61	25.0	15	14.7
Total	527	100.0	346	100.0	244	100.0	102	100.0

† Only those cases that are definitely placeable have been used.

it is impossible to say. The fact, however, points to the desirability of intensive study at this particular point.

The reverse is true of the groups that began the practice at eighteen years or older. Here the percentage of college trained women is 10.3 per cent greater—a difference that is certainly significant.

A similar difference of 13.7 between the group of unmarried college women beginning the practice in this latter period and the total group of married women can probably be partially explained by the mere fact of the gratification of sexual desire in marriage by the latter group.

For the purpose of further studying the question of marriage in relation to masturbation, we have tabulated the ages at marriage of college and non-college women, classifying in the same table the various categories we have been using as to masturbation. Perhaps it should be noted that the college graduate who married at fifteen stated that she took her college course *after* marriage.

From this table we observe that the college women are 2.1 years older at the time of marriage than the non-college women.

TABLE VI

AGE AT MARRIAGE OF THE VARIOUS GROUPS STUDIED AS TO MASTURBATION

Age at marriage	Total group	College graduates	Non-college graduates	Unanswered as to masturbation		Never practiced *		Began practice before 18		Began practice 18 years and after	
				C.	N.C.	C.	N.C.	C.	N.C.	C.	N.C.
15	1	1	.....	.....	.....	1	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
16	2	.....	2	.....	.....	.....	2	.....	.....	.....	.....
17	5	1	4	.....	.....	1	4	.....	.....	.....	.....
18	11	3	8	.....	1	2	7	1	.....	.....	.....
19	19	2	17	.....	1	1	12	1	4	.....	.....
20	26	6	20	.....	1	3	14	2	4	1	1
21	43	15	28	1	1	9	16	5	9	.....	2
22	89	57	32	3	2	31	18	18	10	2	2
23	107	73	34	4	2	47	20	16	10	6	2
24	131	100	31	6	1	61	18	26	9	6	1
25	129	97	32	5	2	60	16	22	10	8	4
26	100	77	23	3	1	39	14	28	7	7	.....
27	75	53	22	3	2	30	16	14	3	6	1
28	58	44	13	2	1	19	8	16	4	7	.....
29	44	36	8	2	.....	18	3	13	5	3	.....
30	35	29	6	1	.....	18	3	7	3	3	.....
31	35	30	5	1	.....	16	1	8	3	3	1
32	18	13	5	1	.....	5	2	4	2	3	1
33	14	9	5	.....	.....	4	1	4	4	1	.....
34	13	12	1	1	.....	7	1	3	.....	.....	.....
35	8	3	5	.....	.....	3	2	.....	3	.....	.....
36	11	9	2	.....	.....	3	1	6	1	.....	.....
37	6	6	.....	1	.....	4	.....	.....	.....	1	.....
38	6	6	.....	.....	.....	3	.....	2	.....	1	.....
39	3	3	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	2	.....	1	.....
40	1	1	.....	.....	.....	1	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
41	1	.....	1	.....	.....	.....	1	.....	.....	.....	.....
42	2	.....	2	.....	.....	.....	1	.....	1	.....	.....
43	1	1	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	1	.....	.....	.....
44	1	1	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	1	.....	.....	.....
45	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
46	1	1	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	1	.....
47	1	1	.....	.....	.....	1	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
53	1	1	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	1	.....
Unanswered as to age	2	.....	2	.....	.....	.....	1	.....	1	.....	.....
Total	1,000	691	308	34	15	387	182	200	93	61	15
Began after 14—indefinite as to exact time	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	9	3	.....	.....
Total	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	209	96	61	15
Average age at marriage	25.7	26.4	24.3	26.0	23.3	26.0	23.8	26.6	25.5	27.8	24.4

* There was one case among those who had never masturbated who did not answer as to education

This is in accord with the general belief that a college course tends to postpone marriage.

A mathematical treatment of the figures shows that there is not one chance in infinity but that this is a real difference and not the result of chance sampling.

The same thing is true as to the greater age at marriage of the college group that began the practice at eighteen and after, which amounts to 3.4 years.

How the Practice Began

Data as to the means by which the practice was acquired are summarized in Table VII.

Reference to the form of the questions concerning the practice of masturbation shows that the one as to the method by which masturbation was acquired in childhood was suggestive of the answer to be given—namely, "spontaneous" or "suggested by others." It is not surprising, therefore, that the majority of the writers used one term or the other in replying and did not go further into detail. When they did so, the same statements were made that we found in the study of unmarried women. Under "spontaneous" we find "accidental, while sliding down a rope," "while handling organs in bathing," and so forth; or "taught by my playmates," "by a girl friend," or "by the hired man." As the cases in which details were given were so infrequent, we have not tabulated them.

Of the 292 women who admit the practice of masturbation in girlhood, 135 acquired the habit at the age of fourteen or after; the remaining 157 carried the habit over from childhood.

Of the 135 a significantly larger proportion are not content with using the term "spontaneous" or "suggested by others," but give what in their own minds are the reasons for beginning.

In a later section of the questionnaire questions are asked concerning spooning. In answer to question as to results, 67 women attribute the practice of masturbation directly to spooning. These women further classify their reasons as "spontaneous," "own desires," "thoughts of lover," and "daydreams."

Length of Time Practice was Continued

Table VIII shows the length of time the practice was continued in the two groups we have been considering.

TABLE VII

MEANS BY WHICH MASTURBATION WAS ACQUIRED IN THE GROUP OF MARRIED WOMEN ADMITTING THE PRACTICE

A. THOSE WHO BEGAN PRACTICE IN CHILDHOOD (BEFORE FOURTEEN)

Means of acquiring practice	No.	%
Accidental—spontaneous	128	52.0
Suggested by others	102	41.5
Do not recall	16	6.5
Total	246	100.0

B. THOSE WHO BEGAN PRACTICE IN GIRLHOOD (FOURTEEN YEARS TO MARRIAGE)

Means of acquiring practice	No.	%
Accidental—spontaneous	51	38.3
Suggested by others	19	14.3
Own desires	25	18.8
Thoughts of lover	14	10.5
Curiosity	11	8.3
Daydreams	5	9.8
Reading erotic books	5	
Dancing	1	
Presence of men	1	
Psychological reading	1	
Total replying	133	100.0
Unanswered	2	
Total	135	

An inspection of this table shows that only 33 individuals acknowledge the continuation of the practice up to the present, but, as has been previously noted, a comparison of age at beginning the practice, length of time it continued, and age of marriage gives us 29 other cases in which the practice was continued after marriage.

This group, however, is so small that we have not considered it separately except as to specific comparisons shown in Tables XII, XIII, XIV, XVI.

TABLE VIII

LENGTH OF TIME THE PRACTICE OF MASTURBATION WAS CONTINUED IN THE TWO GROUPS THAT BEGAN THE PRACTICE IN CHILDHOOD AND IN GIRLHOOD RESPECTIVELY

Length of practice	Began in childhood*	Began in girlhood
To date of reporting	24	9
Until marriage	24	29
Until engagement	3	2
During engagement	.....	2
"Many years"	3	1
"Several years"	11	5
"Through girlhood"	2	.....
30 years	2	.....
28 years	1	.....
26 years	1	.....
20 years	1	.....
19 years	1	.....
18 years	2	.....
17 years	3	.....
15 years	1	.....
14 years	1	.....
13 years	3	.....
12 years	4	1
11 years	.....	1
10 years	5	1
9 years	7	.....
8 years	1	1
7 years	7	2
6 years	9	5
5 years	6	5
4 years	8	6
3 years	9	7
2 years	17	9
1 year	11	7
"A few months"	3	13
"A few weeks"	9	.....
"A short time"	28	15
Once or twice only	1	3
"Do not remember"	13	9
Unanswered	25	2
Total	246	135

* In 157 cases the practice was carried over from childhood into girlhood.

Frequency of Practice

Data as to frequency of practice are given in Table IX.

TABLE IX

FREQUENCY WITH WHICH MASTURBATION WAS PRACTICED IN THE TWO GROUPS THAT BEGAN PRACTICE IN CHILDHOOD AND IN GIRLHOOD RESPECTIVELY

Frequency	Began in childhood	Began in girlhood
Several times a day	1	.....
Every day, nightly	18	5
"Frequently"	14	6
Two or three times a week	6	4
Once a week	22	8
Two to four times a month	.....	10
Once or twice a month	20	15
"Irregularly," "occasionally"	45	3
"Infrequently"	82	56
Two to six times only	5	9
Once or twice only	2	3
Do not remember	12	3
Unanswered	19	13
Total	246	135

No comment on this table is necessary beyond noting, as we did in our study of unmarried college women, that the terms "infrequently," "occasionally," and "irregularly" mean different things to different individuals. The numbers of those who can or do give definite replies are too small to be treated mathematically.

Effect of Masturbation on Personality

In the section of the questionnaire devoted to girlhood, the writers were asked to answer the following:

What effects, as you estimate them now, have the following experiences (if they occurred) had upon the quality of your personality, character, and life?

1. Spooning
2. Masturbation
3. Sex intercourse before marriage

Of the 292 women who admitted masturbation during this period, only 190 answered relevantly.

These answers are given in Table X.

TABLE X

EFFECT OF MASTURBATION ON PERSONALITY

Effect	No.		%
Little, if any, effect		60	31.6
Helpful; good effect:			
Relieved nervous tension	4		
Eased mind	1		
Gave clearer understanding of temptation and therefore made more sympathetic and useful	29		
Effort to resist temptation strengthened character	6—	40	21.1
Harmful, bad effect:			
Caused self-disgust and repression. Made nervous and morbid	36		
Weakened physically and morally	19		
Caused loss of later sensation and killed desire	5		
Weakened will	6		
Led to pessimism	2		
Made more passionate	1		
Harmful, not described	21—	90	47.4
Total replying		190	100.0
Unanswered	82		
Do not know	6		
Answer irrelevant	14—	102	
Grand total		292	

It will be noted that 47.4 per cent of those who replied believe that the effect of the practice of masturbation is bad in their own cases. Reference to Table XXI in the preceding chapter, dealing with unmarried college women, shows that if the two groups of those who were continuing and those who had stopped the practice of masturbation were added together, 168 individuals, or 35.7 per cent, of the 471 who replied definitely to this question believed the effect to be bad personally. This difference of 11.7 per cent between unmarried and married is sufficiently large to indicate a real difference in the groups studied. Whether this difference in point of view is due solely or in part to the fact that the group with the higher percentage is composed of married women, it is impossible to say.

Relation of Practice to Physical Health

The relation of masturbation to physical health is one of the most important problems connected with the subject. Two questions as to health were asked in the married women's questionnaire, both in the section devoted to general questions. The first asks as to general health prior to marriage. As we wished to compare the answers with those of the unmarried women, these seemed the more comparable data for the purpose. They are given in Table XI.

TABLE XI

PRACTICE OF MASTURBATION CORRELATED WITH PHYSICAL HEALTH BEFORE MARRIAGE

Health	Total group		Practiced		Never practiced		Unanswered	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Excellent	324	32.4	110	28.9	194	34.0	20	40.8
Good	417	41.7	163	42.8	236	41.4	18	36.7
Fair	167	16.7	61	16.0	99	17.4	7	14.3
Never very strong, delicate, not robust	43	4.3	21	5.5	19	3.3	3	6.1
Poor	29	2.9	10	2.6	19	3.3	0	.....
Very poor	1	0.1	1	0.3	.....	.....	0	.....
Good as a child; then poor until marriage	7	0.7	4	1.0	3	0.5	0	.....
Poor as a child; improving to marriage	12	1.2	11	2.9	.....	.....	1	2.0
Total	1000	100.0	381	100.0	570	100.0	49	100.0

Combining those who reported "excellent" and "good" in the two groups of married women who had and who had not practiced masturbation, we find that the difference of 3.7 per cent in favor of the latter is not sufficient to be significant. Comparing the percentage of married women who had practiced masturbation and whose health had been good or excellent with the percentage of the group of unmarried college women who had stopped the practice and whose health was also good or excellent, as shown in Table XXVI of the preceding chapter, we find

the percentages almost identical, being 71.4 per cent in one case and 71.7 per cent in the other.

The only group of married women whose health we can compare with the unmarried women who were practicing at the time of reporting are the 62 cases of married women whom we found practicing after marriage.

These data are presented in Table XII.

TABLE XII

HEALTH BEFORE AND AFTER MARRIAGE OF THE GROUP OF 62 WHO ADMITTEDLY PRACTICED MASTURBATION AFTER MARRIAGE COMPARED WITH HEALTH BEFORE AND AFTER MARRIAGE OF THE ENTIRE GROUP

A. HEALTH BEFORE MARRIAGE

Health	Entire group		Group of 62	
	No.	%	No.	%
Excellent	324	32.4	15	24.2
Good	417	41.7	34	54.8
Fair	167	16.7	9	14.5
Never strong, delicate	43	4.3	1	1.6
Poor	29	2.9	3	4.8
Very poor	1	0.1	.....	.....
Good as a child; then poor to marriage	7	0.7	.....	.....
Poor as a child; then good to marriage	12	1.2	.....	.....
Total	1000	100.0	62	100.0

B. HEALTH AFTER MARRIAGE

Health	Entire group		Group of 62	
	No.	%	No.	%
The same	662	66.5	31	50.0
Better	189	19.0	18	29.0
Worse	144	14.5	13	21.0
	995	100.0	62	100.0
Unanswered as to health after marriage	5	.....	.....	.....
Total	1000	.....	.....	.....

As between the group of 62 and the entire group there is not sufficient difference in percentages to be significant.

An interesting comparison, however, can be made with data presented in the chapters on the happiness of married life. There we found greater *stability* of health in the group happily married. That is, a significantly higher per cent reported no change in health after marriage. In the unhappy group a significantly higher percentage were both better and worse than before marriage. Table XII shows that the 62 women who practiced masturbation after marriage were also less stable than those who had not.

Of the 988 married women who answered the question, only 116, or 11.7 per cent, reported that the marriage was more or less unhappy. Of the 62 who masturbated after marriage, 15, or 24.2 per cent, belong to the unhappy group. The difference of 12.5 per cent is large enough to be significant in spite of the small size of the latter group.

As to causal relationship, whether unhappiness in married life leads to masturbation or *vice versa* is a problem for future determination. Perhaps it works both ways!

In the questionnaires of the 62 women who practiced masturbation after marriage, we find descriptions of various situations which bear on the question, such as the following: the use of masturbation to obtain complete satisfaction when this did not come from normal intercourse; the use of masturbation in absences of husband or when he was ill or impotent; its use to relieve nervous tension; its use when satisfaction was greater than in normal intercourse; and its use when the practice began in early life and was continued because no satisfaction whatever was experienced in the marital relation.

From the questionnaires of the 62 women who continued the practice after marriage, the following statements have been summarized illustrating various points.

Case 1 is that of a woman who began masturbation as a result of spooning and who apparently finds satisfaction both in masturbation and in normal intercourse. She was 38 years of age at the time of reporting. She attended high school two years,

then took a course in nursing. She is a registered nurse and has practiced her profession continuously except during her three pregnancies. Before marriage her health was poor. She had incipient tuberculosis, following scarlet fever and pneumonia. She never had any homosexual experiences. In her early 20's she met the man who is now her husband. They "spooned, ultimately to satisfaction." The two years before their marriage, they had intercourse "nightly, sometimes oftener." At 25 she married, her husband being the same age. Her health has greatly improved since marriage; the tuberculosis lesions are entirely healed. Her marriage is very happy. She has three children. She has employed contraceptives for economic reasons. She never masturbated as a child nor until after she met the man who is now her husband. She undertook it spontaneously "to relieve congestion and nervousness following kissing and caressing by *fiancé*." She has practiced it up to time of reporting, "if need for it exists." Her marital experiences "removed the fool theories of my youth as to the wrong of sex. It has made me infinitely more charitable in my judgment of others, especially young girls, and anxious to help them avoid my mistakes and wrong viewpoints."

In regard to her married relations, she writes: "There is no experience on earth comparable to satisfaction in the love and complete satisfaction of two perfectly mated people."

Case 2 illustrates a condition where satisfaction is greater in masturbation than in the sex act. Mrs. A. was a woman of 27 at time of reporting. She is a college graduate. Her health was poor until 17 years of age; her menstrual periods were difficult, she suffered from frequent bad colds, and her vitality was low. At 17 an operation—dilating and curetment of uterus—improved her condition. She was never gainfully employed. At 23 she married a man of the same age. She has had two pregnancies, the first resulting in an accidental miscarriage. One child was six months old at time of writing. She has used contraceptives, "to have our children at our own convenience." Her health has been good since her marriage, which has been in general a happy one.

At 13 she began mutual masturbation with a little girl of the same age, at first once or twice a week, later more infrequently, until the friend became engaged to be married. She then engaged in self-masturbation, continuing it until the birth of her child. The act usually occurred when she was depressed, but caused her to suffer deep remorse and regret. She has never experienced pleasure in the sex act and never reached a climax. The pleasure resulting from masturbation has been very much stronger. Since the birth of her child, the actual act in intercourse has been delayed by caresses which arouse her feelings somewhat. She and her husband indulge in intercourse three or four times a week, and she has now stopped masturbation.

Case 3 is an example of the use of masturbation in place of normal intercourse. The writer was a woman of 26 at time of reporting. She is a college graduate who gave one year to graduate study. She taught for a short time after graduation and for one semester after marriage. Her health has always been excellent. She married at 22 a man of 29. She had no sex intercourse before marriage. She has had strong emotional attachments to several other women. She recognized these feelings as sexual and "consciously repressed them as being inversions." In the early days of marriage she employed contraceptives for economic reasons. She has had one pregnancy and now has a child, ten months old at the time of reporting. Her married life has been a happy one. She makes a full report of her sexual experiences. As to masturbation, she writes as follows:

"The practice of using a bathtub hose, or simply putting both legs over the end of the tub and letting the water stream against the clitoris and into the vagina, begun at the age of 10, has lasted all my life. After marriage I reverted to it again during my husband's absence in France. I think I did not practice it more than once in two or three weeks. Sparingly used, it was a satisfying substitute for intercourse, as it could always be continued long enough to experience the orgasm and was followed by no sense of remorse or depression so common to manual masturbation, but rather by the same calm that comes after normal intercourse. Since our baby was born, I have practiced it once or

twice after a succession of intercourses in which I was not able to reach my orgasm in time, because I was too tired. In this situation, the water masturbation was a real help in breaking the strain of nervous tension that comes from incompleted sex intercourse.

"I tried to break myself of this habit at about 17, when I read somewhere an account of the practice of masturbation and its terrible consequences. It was a distinct surprise to me that I was doing a usual thing. I had never mentioned it or heard of any one doing it."

Case 4 is that of a woman unhappily married who substituted masturbation for distasteful marital relations. She was a woman of 65 at time of reporting. Her schooling ended with the grammar grades. As a girl, she was delicate, "generally lacking in physical development." She was a church singer and a clerk in a store before her marriage. She had had no homosexual experiences and no sex intercourse before marriage. At 27 she married a man of 30. The marriage was very unhappy. Her husband became intemperate. He was sensual, careless, and vulgar—"a beast." Married relations with him were repulsive. They had three children, only one of whom is now living. She has always worked as saleswoman and teacher. Her general health has been better than before marriage. Her husband failed to support her and finally deserted her. She divorced him.

She began masturbation at the age of 26. She continued it "many years" as a substitute for marriage relations, which she finally refused altogether as she believed no woman has a right to bring children into the world by a drunken husband. She has improved mentally and physically since the menopause.

Case 5 was a woman of 37 at time of reporting. She is a college graduate who has never been gainfully employed. Her health has always been good. At 26 she married a man of the same age. She has one child of eight years and was pregnant for a second time when she reported. She had used contraceptive methods successfully between pregnancies. She had had no homosexual experiences nor did she engage in sex intercourse prior to marriage. She had never practiced masturbation as a

child. The orgasm was discovered while employing a substitute for sex intercourse with her *fiancé* at the age of 22. After this she masturbated frequently during a four-year engagement and continued the practice two or three times a month for the first eight years of married life. Her marriage has not been altogether happy through lack of sex adjustment, though conditions are now improving. In connection with the first experiences of married life she writes:

"Early habits of obtaining satisfaction made normal relations impossible. Married sex relations were a great disappointment."

Case 6. This is a woman who practices masturbation in the absence of her husband. As a result of her reading, she justifies the practice to herself. At the time of reporting she was a woman of 30, a college graduate. She did office work prior to her marriage at 27 to a man of 30. Her health has always been good, though she "is not particularly robust." She has had one pregnancy, resulting in a child nine months old at time of reporting. She used contraceptives until she and her husband were ready for a child. She had had no homosexual experiences and no sex intercourse prior to marriage. Curiosity led to the practice of masturbation when she was 21 years old. She continued it up to the time of her marriage and after, "when relief has not come after sexual intercourse." She has practiced it once or twice a month on an average. She once ceased the practice entirely for several months, fearing it was harmful, "but read in a medical book it was no more harmful than natural relations," and since then has "indulged in the practice in prolonged absences of my husband."

The next two cases are of women unhappily married where substitution is made for sexual relations with husbands.

Case 7 is that of a woman of 39 at time of reporting. As a child she completed grammar school and was then placed in a European school for a time. Her health has always been good. Before marriage she was an actress and has been on the stage five years of her married life. At 22 years of age she married a man of 28. She has had one pregnancy and has one child fifteen years of age at the time of writing. She has used contra-

ceptive methods successfully. For the past five years she has had no marital relations with her husband as a result of "having lost my respect for my husband in regard to another matter. I do not care to have him display any affection for me at all."

At 18 years she "spontaneously" learned to masturbate. She has continued it ever since. She practices it once or twice a month. "It gives relief and is preferable to intercourse with my husband."

Case 8 is an older woman. She was 43 years of age at the time of reporting. She completed her work at high school. Her health has been good all her life. She did sewing previous to marriage at 23 to a man of 36. She had had one homosexual experience with physical expression, but no heterosexual experience before marriage. Since marriage she has become a successful business woman. She has had two pregnancies and has one living child. She has used contraceptives successfully, as her husband wanted no more children. Her married life has been unhappy. "Our ideas of life are not the same." Her husband has been obliged to travel in his business. "He thought he had a right to have what he wanted while away. As a result, he became diseased. He has a 4+ Wassermann. For two or three years he has been impotent." She began masturbation so young that she cannot remember when. She thinks that as a baby some one must have taught her. She continued the practice "until recently" at varying intervals. She has struggled against it, but "there were times when I could not resist the temptation. Think a good doctor might have found the cause and helped me, but I never had the courage to confess such a thing to one. Had hoped marriage would overcome the trouble, but my husband was not the kind of man I thought him to be. He did not want children and was displeased because I wanted them."

Case 9 comments on the relation between mental and physical activities and the frequency of the practice. The writer was a women of 31 years at time of reporting. She is a college graduate and was never gainfully employed. As a small child she was nervous, but after ten years of age had "very good health provided I took care of myself." At 23 she married a man 27 years

old. Her marriage has been happy. She has three children. She has used contraceptives while nursing her babies. She never had homosexual experiences and no sex intercourse previous to marriage. She never masturbated as a child. She discovered masturbation accidentally when about 18. In answer to the question as to frequency of practice, she writes:

"That is very difficult to say. When in college and active and busy, especially during outdoor athletic season, probably not for three or four months. Then in the summer as often as two or three times a month as nearly as I can remember. It is rather significant to me that I started and was the worst while attending a girls' college where you didn't see a man for months on end. I have never practiced it oftener than three or four times a year since I was married and for the last few years probably not more than once or twice, none at all this last year. Ever since I found out the results of masturbation from questioning my husband, I have fought to stop it completely and the one or two times I've lapsed have been either when my husband has been gone for weeks at a time or before the babies came, when we were sleeping apart in order to avoid intercourse."

Case 10 speculates on the relation of nervousness to the continued practice of masturbation. She was a woman of 37 at time of reporting. She attended a private school until 13 years of age, at which time she had infantile paralysis. She was not strong after that, as the paralysis affected one leg and one arm. She was "easily unstrung nervously." She never engaged in a gainful occupation. She had no homosexual or heterosexual experiences previous to marriage. At 22 she married a man of 23. Though she has had many illnesses, her health has steadily improved and at the time of reporting she considered it perfect. She states that her marriage is a happy one. She has had six pregnancies and has five living children, the oldest eleven, the youngest two. After the birth of the fourth child she employed contraceptives which failed to work successfully, as the fifth child came a year after the fourth. Her marriage relations have always been pleasurable, though it is hard for her to reach a sexual climax. She began the practice of masturbation at 5 years of age

and continued it up to the birth of her last child, "sometimes every night, then a lapse." She makes no comment on its relation to her marital life, but writes:

"I have often wondered whether it was masturbation made me nervous instead of paralysis."

Case 11 is that of a woman who began masturbation as a child, has always continued the practice, and has never had pleasure in sex intercourse. She was a woman of 26 at the time of reporting, a college graduate, never gainfully employed. Her health has always been excellent. She has had no homosexual experiences. She does not answer the question as to sex intercourse before marriage, but under "spooning" says it never went further than kissing. At 22 she married a man of 29. The marriage has been happy. She has two children. She has employed contraceptives for economic reasons.

She began to masturbate at 10 years, "at the suggestion of others," unspecified. In childhood it was practiced nightly, then more irregularly up to time of reporting. She says under the question concerning marriage relationships that she has always found them pleasurable, but elsewhere she says, "I have never had any pleasure in sex intercourse." It is probable that she interpreted "marriage relations" as including relations other than those of sex.

Case 12 is interesting because of the successful attempt at readjustment. The writer gives us an intelligent and interesting paper. At the time of reporting she was 54 years of age. She is a college graduate, of rugged physical health in general, but was very nervous as the result of overwork between college and marriage. At 27 she married a man of 32. Since marriage her health has been generally good, though at times she has suffered from nervous exhaustion. She has two children ten years apart in age. Owing to her husband's illness two years after marriage, it was necessary for her at this time to teach. Contraceptives were successfully employed during this period. Considerable adjustment in marital relations has been necessary. Several years ago a point was reached where separation seemed desirable. Her husband consented to a year's absence. She writes: "Since

TABLE XIII

THE REACTION OF MARRIED WOMEN TO SEXUAL RELATIONS IN MARRIED LIFE CORRELATED WITH THE PRACTICE OF MASTURBATION

Reaction	Total group		Masturbated		Never masturbated		Unanswered as to masturbation		Masturbated after marriage*	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
A. Grouped according to reaction to initial experience										
I Pleasurable entire married life	476	47.8	175	45.9	269	47.4	32	68.1	22	35.5
Pleasurable changing to neutral	58		25		31		2		6	
Pleasurable; neutral; pleasurable	10		5		5		....		....	
Pleasurable; neutral; distasteful	22		10		12		....		2	
Pleasurable changing to distasteful	30		8		22		....		....	
Pleasurable changing to occasionally distasteful	9		9		....		....		2	
Pleasurable; distasteful; neutral	5		3		2		....		....	
Total pleasurable at first	610	61.3	235	61.7	341	60.1	34	72.3	32	51.6
II Neutral entire married life	60	6.0	13	3.4	46	8.1	1	2.1	3	4.8
Neutral changing to pleasurable	81		29		48		4		4	
Neutral changing to distasteful	8		2		6		....		1	
Neutral; pleasurable; neutral	1		1		....		....		1	
Neutral; pleasurable; distasteful	6		5		1		....		1	
Total neutral at first	156	15.7	50	13.1	101	17.8	5	10.6	10	16.1
III Distasteful entire married life	35	3.5	14	3.7	20	3.5	1	2.1	3	4.8
Distasteful, changing to pleasurable	25		10		14		1		2	
Distasteful, changing to neutral	31		14		16		1		3	
Distasteful; pleasurable; neutral	5		2		3		....		1	
Distasteful; pleasurable; distasteful	3		1		1		1		....	
Distasteful; neutral; pleasurable	25		10		15		....		2	
Total distasteful at first	124	12.5	51	13.4	69	12.2	4	8.5	11	17.7
IV Pleasurable or neutral in all periods	45	4.5	23	6.0	22	3.9	....		6	9.7
Neutral or distasteful in all periods	11		1		10		....		1	
All three in all periods	47	4.7	20	5.2	23	4.1	4	8.5	1	1.6
Total impossible to place as to initial experience	103	10.4	44	11.5	55	9.7	4	8.5	8	12.9
V No sex relations during entire married life	2		1		1		....		1	
Total replying	995		381		567		47		62	
Unanswered as to reaction to sex relations	5		....		3		2		....	
Grand total	1000	100.0	381	100.0	570	100.0	49	100.0	62	100.0

TABLE XIII (*continued*)

Reaction	Total group		Masturbated		Never masturbated		Unanswered as to masturbation		Masturbated after marriage*	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
B. Grouped according to reaction at time of replying to questionnaire or at the cessation of marital relations										
I Sex relations pleasurable	617	62.0	229	60.1	351	61.9	37	78.7	30	48.4
II Sex relations neutral	160	16.1	58	15.2	98	17.3	4	8.5	14	22.6
III Sex relations distasteful	113	11.4	49	12.9	62	10.9	2	4.3	9	14.5
IV Impossible to place as to end experience	103	10.4	44	11.5	55	9.7	4	8.5	8	12.9
V No sex relations during entire married life	2	0.2	1	0.3	1	0.2	....	.....	1	1.6
Total replying	995	100.0	381	100.0	567	100.0	47	100.0	62	100.0

* Cases in this group are included in the group practicing masturbation.

my return, we have both earnestly worked at readjusting ourselves to each other and have been more and more successful. In passing, I should like to say that it falls mostly to the wife to readjust relations once in so often. We are more instinctively gifted for this job." Of masturbation she writes:

"As a small child, I think not over 4 or 5, I experienced the pleasure of a sex orgasm by sitting astride a big rope swing, and often sought it after that. Whenever I was excited, I craved this more and learned to produce it in many ways. It seemed to relax and relieve my nervous tension. It has gone with me through life whenever I am nervously tired, though sometimes not for long periods."

She makes no connection between the practice and marital maladjustment.

The Relation of Masturbation to Reaction to Marital Relations

In Section D of the questionnaire—*The Experiences of Marriage*—the following questions are asked:

9. Have you found your married relations pleasurable, neutral, or distasteful?

(a) In earliest period?
(b) Middle period?
(c) Later period?
If distasteful, why?

Table XIII presents the answers given with special reference to initial and latest experiences.

It will be noted that in this table, the first grouping is according to initial reaction.

Group A IV contains those cases whose answers read, for example, "All three in all periods," and there is accordingly no way of telling which experience was first.

In the total group of 476 women (47.6 per cent of the entire 1000) who found the experience pleasurable during the entire married life, it will be noted that the 175 women who had practiced masturbation formed 45.9 per cent of the total group of 381 women who masturbated. Compared with the 269 cases, or 47.4 per cent, of the group of 567 women who had never masturbated, the difference is not mathematically significant.

The same comparison holds between the two groups as to all the initial experiences, whether pleasurable, neutral, or distasteful. There is at this point apparently no relation between masturbation and reaction to sex experiences in married life.

There is, however, one exception which may or may not be significant. We have placed in the table in a separate column the cases in which we were able to say that masturbation was continued after marriage. The number is really too small for mathematical treatment. But it will be noted that 12.3 per cent more of the entire group found the experience pleasurable than did this group. This difference is almost exactly the limit that makes it possible in this case to say that the difference is certainly significant. Taken in connection with comparisons made under Table XII, it would give another reason for desiring a further study of similar cases.

Comparing the two groups of those who masturbated and those who did not as to reaction at time of answering the questionnaire, there are again no significant differences. But if we compare our group of 62 with the total group, we find even a

greater percentage of difference between them as to the pleasurableness of sex relations.

It will be noted that if initial experiences are compared with experiences at time of answering, there is little variation in the different groups. That is, about the same *number* of individuals find the sex act pleasurable in the end as in the beginning, but it can also be seen that there was a considerable number who changed. Table XIV presents the results grouped as to *change* of reaction.

TABLE XIV

THE PROPORTION OF EACH GROUP SHOWN IN TABLE XIII WHO REMAINED STABLE AND WHO CHANGED AS TO REACTION TO SEXUAL RELATIONS IN MARRIED LIFE

	Total	Masturbated	Never masturbated	Unanswered as to masturbation	After marriage*
Pleasurable entire married life	476	175	269	32	22
Neutral entire married life	60	13	46	1	3
Distasteful entire married life	35	14	20	1	3
Impossible to place at initial experience, but unchanged entire married life	103	44	55	4	8
Total unchanged	674	246	390	38	36
Total changed	319	134	176	9	25
Total	993	380	566	47	61
Percentage unchanged	67.9	64.7	68.9	80.9	59.0
Percentage changed	32.1	35.3	31.1	19.1	41.0
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

* Cases in this group are included in the group practicing masturbation.

It will be noted that approximately about a third in each of the two principal groups changed in their reaction. The percentage of change is larger in the group that practiced masturbation after marriage, but not sufficiently larger to be significant. In the group of 49 who did not answer the questions as to masturbation, two failed to answer as to reaction to sex rela-

tions. The proportion of those who found sex relations pleasurable is larger than in any other group. The 49 papers in this group have in general so many blanks among the answers that it is impossible to use them satisfactorily for comparative purposes.

It will be recalled that in question D 9, we asked the writers to state why they found their marriage relations distasteful, if that were the case.

From the 262 individuals who at any time found their married relations distasteful, we received 279 reasons. Several gave more than one reason. Some who say it was at times distasteful give none. The reasons are tabulated in Table XV.

TABLE XV

REASONS GIVEN AS TO WHY MARITAL RELATIONS WERE DISTASTEFUL

Had no desire	36	
When lacking climax	20	
Too exhausting	17	
Ill health—lack of physical strength	23	
Because painful	29	
Too frequent	29	
During pregnancy	3	
During menopause	1	
At certain times of month	3	
After birth of child	1	
Insufficient adaptation	3	
Not mated—lack of sex harmony	2—	167
Psychic inhibition—whole life built on thought that it was wrong	10	
Fear of pregnancy	15	
Grown entirely away from it	2	
Mind occupied with other things	1	
Believe it should be for procreation only	4	
Seemed waste of time	1	
In love with another man	1	
Minds not in harmony	5	
When hope of pregnancy was gone	1—	40
Lost love for husband	7	
At times tired of husband	1	
Husband licentious and untrue	3	
Husband never satisfied	1	
Husband alcoholic	2	
Husband too old	2	
Husband impotent	5	
Husband vulgar and violent	2	
Husband ignorant	1	
Husband indulged in abnormal sex practices	1	
Husband inconsiderate	1	

TABLE XV (*continued*)

Husband careless in personal habits	1	
Husband's personality changed by illness	1	
Husband's technique poor	3—	31
Physical repulsion—vulgar, disgusting, nasty, revolting, horrid, brutish	31	
Always hated it	1	
Have a feeling of degradation	1	
On too low and coarse a plane	7	
Could not look at face in glass afterward	1—	41
Total		279

This table merely summarizes the reasons. The full answers are illuminating, but not relevant to this study. The noticeable thing is that at this point not one woman connects the practice of masturbation with the reaction of distaste, though, as we have seen, it is suggested in connection with other questions.

Other things being equal, it seems obvious that the longer the period of time that has elapsed since marriage, the greater the chance that elements may enter into the relationship that were not present at first. These factors may work either for a better adjustment between the partners or bring into the situation conditions that tend to disharmony.

In Table XVI we have tabulated the length of married life of the various groups we have been considering whose marital sex relations have always been pleasurable.

It will be observed that the members of the group that never masturbated have been married three years longer on the average than the members of the group that engaged in the practice. Examining this difference, we find that there is not one chance in infinity but that it is significant.[1]

Since in Table XVI the length of married life appeared to be a possible factor in the pleasurableness of sex relations throughout the entire period, a further study of the figures seemed desirable. The results are shown in Table XVII.

[1] Comparing (1) those who masturbated (M = 8.442 ± .52) with (2) those who never masturbated (M = 11.862 ± .54) in respect to average length of time married:

σ_1^2	σ_2^2	$\sqrt{\sigma_1^2 + \sigma_2^2}$	d	$\frac{d}{d}$	Chances unfavorable to difference 1 in
.2768	.2885	.752	3.420	4 +	∞

TABLE XVI

CORRELATION BETWEEN THE PRACTICE OF MASTURBATION AND THE LENGTH OF MARRIED LIFE IN THE GROUP OF WOMEN WHO HAVE FOUND THEIR SEX RELATIONS PLEASURABLE DURING THEIR ENTIRE MARRIED LIFE

Length of married life	Total group	Masturbated	Never masturbated	Unanswered as to masturbation	Masturbated after marriage*
Unanswered	1	1			
6 months	1	1			
1 year	10	7	3		3
2 years	19	11	6	2	1
3 years	47	25	21	1	3
4 years	49	22	23	4	4
5 years	37	13	21	3	1
6 years	25	10	14	1	2
7 years	34	13	18	3	1
8 years	21	4	16	1	1
9 years	16	5	11		
10 years	20	6	14		
11 years	24	5	18	1	
12 years	16	6	9	1	
13 years	15	9	5	1	1
14 years	18	8	9	1	1
15 years	12	3	8	1	1
16 years	18	5	12	1	1
17 years	11	4	7		
18 years	10	3	5	2	1
19 years	6	1	3	2	
20 years	6	2	3	1	
21 years	4	1	2	1	1
22 years	6	2	4		
23 years	6	1	5		
24 years	7	3	3	1	
25 years	3		3		
26 years	6		6		
27 years	7		5	2	
28 years	3	2	1		
29 years	2		2		
30 years	2		2		
31 years	1		1		
32 years	3	1	1	1	
33 years	1		1		
34 years					
35 years					
36 years	1		1		
38 years	1		1		
39 years	1		1		

TABLE XVI (*continued*)

Length of married life	Total group	Masturbated	Never masturbated	Unanswered as to masturbation	Masturbated after marriage*
40 years	2	.....	2	.....	.....
45 years	1	1	.....	.....	.....
46 years	1	.....	.....	1	.....
49 years	1	.....	1	.....	.....
51 years	1	.....	1	.....	.....
Total	476	175	269	32	22
Range	6 mos.–51 yrs.	6 mos.–45 yrs.	1–51 yrs.	2–46	1–21 yrs.
Mode	4 yrs. (49 cases)	3 yrs. (25 cases)	4 yrs. (23 cases)	4 yrs. (4 cases)	4 yrs. (4 cases)
Average	10.8 yrs.	8.6 yrs.	11.9 yrs.	13.3 yrs.	7.2 yrs.
Married less than 10 yrs.	259 (54.4 per cent)	111 (63.4 per cent)	133 (49.4 per cent)	15 (46.9 per cent)	16 (72.7 per cent)
Married 5 yrs. or less	163 (34.2 per cent)	79 (45.1 per cent)	74 (27.5 per cent)	10 (31.3 per cent)	12 (54.5 per cent)

* The cases in this group are included in the group practicing masturbation.

This table shows first, in columns I and II, the distribution of the two groups of those who had masturbated and those who had not as to the length of married life and the number at each point who had found their marital relations pleasurable up to date. An inspection of the two sets of columns shows that for the early years the higher percentage of pleasurable relations was on the side of those who had masturbated, while later on this changes to the side of those who had never masturbated.

Since the numbers at any given period are too small for mathematical treatment, we arbitrarily divided the columns into five-year periods, the first including the cases where the length of married life had lasted from one to five years inclusive, and so on.

The next two columns, III and IV, show the totals for each group. Column V shows the percentages of each group whose reaction to marital relations has always been pleasurable. It will be observed that in the period of from one to five years there

is a difference of 11.2 per cent in favor of the group that has practiced masturbation. This is just short of being a large enough difference to be certainly significant. It is at least suggestive. The interesting thing is to note the differences down the columns in the two groups. It must be borne in mind, however, that in the later periods the groups grow very small.

The differences of distribution, however, are matters of considerable interest. These differences are shown in another way in Table XVIII.

Column I repeats the total number whose reactions to marital relations were always pleasurable for the two groups under consideration. Column II gives the percentage distribution of the totals for the respective periods. For example, 44.6 per cent of the total 175 of those who found sex relations always pleasurable are in the group whose marriages had lasted from one to five years, and so forth. Comparing, we find that the difference between 44.6 and 27.5 is large enough to be absolutely significant.

From these two tables it would appear that pleasurable reaction to the marital relations was significantly higher during the first five years of married life in the group that masturbated, but that the pleasurable reaction persisted longest in the group that never masturbated.

The question of reaction to marital relations is undoubtedly one of the utmost importance not only with reference to masturbation, but to the larger problem of happy and successful married life. Many other factors than those discussed in this paper are involved and must be studied and reported upon by investigators in many fields.

It is quite probable that masturbation may be a symptom of a type of personality rather than in itself a causative factor.

TABLE XVII

CORRELATION OF LENGTH OF MARRIED LIFE WITH PLEASURABLE REACTION TO SEX RELATIONS IN MARRIAGE IN THE TWO GROUPS WHO HAVE PRACTICED MASTURBATION AND WHO HAVE NOT

Length of married life	Column I Masturbated		Column II Never masturbated		Column III Total in each 5-year period		Column IV Total pleasurable in each 5-year period		Column V Percentage of pleasurable in each 5-year period	
	No. in group	Relations always pleasurable	No. in group	Relations always pleasurable	Masturbated	Never masturbated	Masturbated	Never masturbated	Masturbated	Never masturbated
Unknown	4	1	4	0	4	4	1	0		
6 months	1	1	0	0	1	0	1	0		
1 year	8	7	7	3						
2 years	22	11	16	6						
3 years	36	25	38	21						
4 years	37	22	42	23						
5 years	21	13	40	21	124	143	78	74	62.9	51.7
6 years	18	10	31	14						
7 years	28	13	32	18						
8 years	16	4	37	16						
9 years	10	5	23	11						
10 years	17	6	24	14	89	147	38	73	42.7	49.7
11 years	16	5	27	18						
12 years	16	6	21	9						
13 years	16	9	17	5						
14 years	13	8	19	9						
15 years	13	3	19	8	74	103	31	49	41.9	47.6
16 years	12	5	22	12						
17 years	15	4	15	7						
18 years	6	3	12	5						
19 years	4	1	15	3						
20 years	4	2	9	3	41	73	15	30	36.6	41.1

	Column I		Column II		Column III		Column IV		Column V	
21 years	4	1	7	2						
22 years	4	2	9	4						
23 years	3	1	7	5						
24 years	7	3	5	3						
25 years	4	0	10	3	22	38	7	17	31.8	44.7
26 years	1	0	8	6						
27 years	4	0	12	5						
28 years	6	2	7	1						
29 years	1	0	4	2						
30 years	1	0	6	2	13	37	2	16	15.4	43.2
31 years	2	0	2	1						
32 years	2	1	3	1						
33 years	3	0	1	1						
34 years	0	0	1	0						
35 years	1	0	2	0	8	9	1	3	12.5	33.3
36 years	2	0	1	1						
37 years	2	0	2	0						
38 years	0	0	4	1						
39 years	0	0	1	1						
40 years	0	0	2	2	4	10	0	5	0.0	50.0
41 years	0	0	1	0						
42 years	0	0	0	0						
43 years	0	0	0	0						
44 years	0	0	1	0						
45 years	1	1	1	0	1	3	1	0	100.0	0.0
46 years	0	0	1	0						
47 years	0	0	0	0						
48 years	0	0	0	0						
49 years	0	0	1	1						
50 years	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	1	0.0	50.0
51 years	0	0	1	1	0	1	0	1	0.0	100.0
Total	381	175	570	269	381	570	175	269	45.9	47.2

TABLE XVIII

DISTRIBUTION BY PERCENTAGES OF THE TOTAL NUMBER OF CASES WHERE SEX RELATIONS HAVE BEEN PLEASURABLE DURING THE ENTIRE MARRIED LIFE IN THE FIVE-YEAR PERIODS CONSIDERED IN THE PRECEDING TABLE. DIVIDED INTO THE GROUPS WHO HAVE MASTURBATED AND WHO HAVE NOT

Periods of lengths of married life	Column I Total pleasurable in each group		Column II Percentage of total pleasurable in each group	
	Masturbated	Never masturbated	Masturbated	Never masturbated
Unknown	1	0	0.6	0.0
6 months	1	0	0.6	0.0
1 to 5 years	78	74	44.6	27.5
6 to 10 years	38	73	21.7	27.1
11 to 15 years	31	49	17.7	18.2
16 to 20 years	15	30	8.6	11.1
21 to 25 years	7	17	4.0	6.3
26 to 30 years	2	16	1.1	5.9
31 to 35 years	1	3	0.6	1.1
36 to 40 years	0	5	0.0	1.9
41 to 45 years	1	0	0.6	0.0
46 to 50 years	0	1	0.0	0.4
51 years	0	1	0.0	0.4
Totals	175	269	100.0	100.0

CHAPTER VIII

PERIODICITY OF SEX DESIRE—UNMARRIED WOMEN, COLLEGE GRADUATES

During the last few years there has been considerable study of the estrous cycle of animals. Loeb of Washington University, Stockard of Cornell, and Evans of California among others have attacked the problem from various angles.

Corner, of Rochester, has studied the relation of ovulation and menstruation in monkeys (*Macacus rhesus*). The study of the human reproductive cycle, because of the greater difficulty of approach, has not been carried so far as with the lower forms of life. A beginning, however, has been made by Schroeder, Meyer and Ruge, among others.

The importance of the study is obvious on account of its practical bearing. Menstruation, ovulation, conception, sexual desire, are all parts of it. The old notion of a "safe period" is one of the supposed contraceptive methods known to a majority of women.

Investigators in the human field, it is said, have been held back partly by lack of critical information on the psychical side—that is, in the matter of a wave of sexual desire in women in relation to the menstrual period.

In our study of the sex life of normal women, the questionnaires for both married and unmarried women touch upon this. The questions asked of the unmarried were more detailed and were more fully answered than those asked of the married women. The information gathered from these questionnaires is far from being as definite as desired. The comment of several of the women replying, "We should have been given a period for

observation before being asked to reply," is a valid criticism. We present what there is, however, for what it is worth.

We will first consider the reports of 1,000 college and university graduates unmarried and at least five years out of college.

Section III of the questionnaire, dealing with Sex Feeling and Sex Experience, begins as follows:

A. Sex Feeling.

1. (a) Do you recall having had any sex feelings or impulses during childhood (up to beginning of menstruation)? Spontaneous (physiologic) excitation of organs; pleasure in handling organs; desire for sex excitement; sex day dreams; curiosity about sex affairs of parents or other adults; strong attraction for boys and men; any other?

   (b) Did the appearance of menstruation arouse any feelings or emotions? What?
   Did you experience any increase in intensity or frequency of sex feelings up to college entrance?

   (c) Were such feelings increased in intensity or frequency during college course? Decreased?

   (d) Since leaving college—Increased in intensity or frequency? Decreased?

2. If you are conscious of definite sex feelings or desires do they arise at more or less regular periods? If so,

   (a) How many marked periods of desire do you have between menstruations?

   (b) What relations in time do they have to your menstrual period?
   During? Before? After?

   (c) If you have more than one such wave of desire between menstruation, are they of equal or different intensity and duration?
   How far apart are they?
   How long do they continue?

   (d) Are these periods of desire (if any) strong enough to produce temptation to sex indulgence?
   To diminish resistance to temptation?

The present chapter concerns itself for the most part with questions under A–2, and their correlation with answers to questions on sex experience.

TABLE I

A-1	Entire question unanswered	10
	Deny any sex feeling or any sex desire at any period in their lives	182
	Admit sex feeling or desire at some period	808
	Total	1000

These answers, however, are not always consistent with the answers to other portions of the questionnaire. Of the 10 who fail to answer question 1 in answer to questions on masturbation, two admit the practice for a short time, one as a child and one as a girl between 15 and 20. None of these 10 admit sex intercourse or homosexual experience. None admit sex problems, although two fail to answer the section on problems.

Only 124 of the 182 who categorically deny any sex feeling or sex desire are consistent throughout their entire papers.

TABLE II

Deny any sex feeling or practice throughout life	182	
Papers entirely consistent	124	
Papers inconsistent		—58
Of these—		
Have present sex problems	14	
Make comments indicating sex feeling	9	
Admit masturbation in the past	24	
Admit masturbation at present, sex intercourse, or homosexual experience	11	— 58

A number of those who consistently deny sex feeling or experience comment upon it. For example, "I just don't seem to have any sex feeling." Another writes, "I don't believe I have ever had any sex feeling. I have thought I was in love twice or more but it wasn't a sexual sensation." Another says, "I think I am a cold-blooded fish"; and still another, "To tell the truth, I have no more personal interest in sex than I have in leprosy. I never think it will even touch me."

Fourteen who deny any sexual experience or practices in the later section on sex problems admit that they have one. The

ages of these 14 range from 26 to 47.[1] The problems of the 4 women under 30 have to do in three cases with "the ethics of petting" and how far they should allow their *fiancés* to go. That of the fourth is her choice of a husband as between a "better match" and a man who makes "the greater physical appeal"; which would seem in itself to be an admission of sex feeling.

Seven women are in the 30's. One woman of 30 finds it harder and harder to remain unmarried. She wants children, but thinks she is unattractive to men. "I am no homelier than many women who marry, but lack the certain something that is attractive to men." Another of the same age has an opportunity to marry; she finds a problem in deciding,—she lives with sisters whom she hates to leave, also she does not wish to marry unless the man is both spiritually and physically attractive. Another, a woman successful in a high academic position, says: "The single woman must always be bothered with questions of sex. Her life is stunted. She must of necessity be full of questions as to the future and as to the present nature of things." Another says, "I have never lived." She thinks marriage the only normal life; "would be tempted to take the wrong one if I only had a chance." A fifth is going through a struggle because she is strongly attracted to a man but is not physically fit to marry. A sixth states her problem, "to prevent indulgence in sex reveries which bring temptation to induce thrills by impure thoughts," while the seventh, who does not wish to marry, says she finds herself getting fond of men from time to time, but "the men who *attract me most in every way* I could not trust." Yet she denies sex feeling!

The problems of the three women in the 40's are much alike, tendency to "morbid feelings due to repression," "dreams filled with sex feelings and desires which lack fulfillment," and "tendency to dwell in thought on the physical side of marriage," which she thinks dreadful but which her intellect tells her is natural and right.

The cases of the 33 who admit masturbation present or past, sex intercourse, or homosexual practices require some comment

[1] For ages of this entire group, see Chapter V, the Background of the Unmarried Group.

in this connection. It seems fairly obvious that in spite of denial there was some sex feeling.

The nine cases who deny all sex feeling or experience, but who make comments which seem to contradict this, are an interesting group.

Case 1 denies emphatically any sex feeling at all, but under question 2, writes: "Each month before the menstrual period I have waves of ambition and count on them to get most work done. The ambition wave lasts three or four days." This woman is 41 years of age, is a teacher with salary above the average, but is not satisfied because she is "so ambitious." She denies any practice of masturbation for herself, it is revolting to her, but writes regarding emotional experiences with other women. It is "the greatest danger in the unmarried life." She believes she is not attractive to men, but makes a sex appeal to other women. In two cases there has been physical expression to satisfy them. Personally it produces feeling of shame and disgust only, but a friend who at present demands it says she finds it helpful.

Case 2, a woman of 40, does not answer as to masturbation, does not admit either homosexual or heterosexual experiences, has no sex problem, is healthy and happy. In answer to question A-1, she says "No" to the entire question. Under A-2 she says that in later life after a hot bath where she has not had sufficient exercise, and *before* menstruation she thinks, but is not sure, she has some feeling that may be sexual.

Case 3 is a woman of 30 who also says under question 2, after denying sex feeling in question 1: "At the menstrual period I feel blue, perhaps an unconscious desire."

Case 4 likewise denies sexual feeling, but says under question 2: "I suffer from depression about two days before the menstrual period."

Case 5 under question 2 comments: "I can induce 'that queer feeling' almost any time by thinking about it."

Case 6.—Denies any sex feeling, but adds, "except the feeling of closing a mental door on the subject."

Case 7 has "had dreams before menstruation that I was married and about to give birth to a child or dreams of assault by tramps or ruffians." This woman is a teacher of 42 who has no sex problems, is happy, who denies any sex practice or experience, whose health is "poor to fair."

Case 8 replies "No" to question 1 and "No" to question 2a, but writes in the word "after" to 2b. Age 28. Denies any sex practice or experience.

Case 9, age 30, denies any sex experience or feeling, but writes under A-2: "Any sex feeling of which I have been conscious has only been while spooning."

The brief descriptions of these cases are inserted because they illustrate what seems to be sex feelings which the writers are unwilling to call by that name, an attitude perhaps quite common among unmarried women of the ages covered in this study.

A glance at Table III shows that of the 808 women who answered "Yes" to question A-1, there are 238 who in answer

TABLE III

RELATION OF ANSWERS TO A-1 AND A-2

Reply "Yes" to question A-1	808	
Of these in answer to A-2—		
Have observed regular periodicity	272	
Have observed irregular periodicity	298	
Have observed no periodicity	238	808
Reply "No" or fail to answer question A-1	192	
Of these—		
Question A-2 unanswered	99	
Question A-2 No	93	192
Total		1000

to the first question under A-2 say that they have never observed any periodicity of sex desire. They reply with an unqualified "No." In 298 cases a certain amount of information is given. There is a relation perhaps between the feeling of desire and the menstrual period, but it is not regular each month, or, such a desire while irregular does give rise to temptation to sex practice, etc., etc.

There are, however, 272 women who state that they have observed regular periodicity of desire. These answer the other points under A-2 as follows:

III A-2

(*a*) Number of periods of desire observed—

One period	126
One or two periods	26
Two periods	89
Two or three periods	18

Three periods	2
Three or four periods	2
Four periods	4
Four or five periods	2
"Several" periods	2
"Many" periods	1
	272

(*b*) Relation of desire to Menstrual Period.

Those who have observed one period find it occurs—

Before menstruation	69
After menstruation	38
During menstruation	3
Before and during menstruation	9
During and after menstruation	3
During, between, and after menstruation	1
Midway and after	2
"It may be just before or just after, but never during menstruation"	1
	126

Those who always experience one and sometimes two periods just before or just after menstruation find they occur—

Just before or just after menstruation	4
Just before or just after menstruation or both	4
Just before and occasionally after	2
Before sometimes, and after always	5
Before and occasionally during	1
After and occasionally during	1
After—no further explanation	2
Just before	3
"In between"	2
About 10 days after and occasionally 10 days before	1
The week before sometimes and a few days after	1
	26

Those who always experience two periods find they occur—

Before and after menstruation	56
Before and during menstruation	8
During and just after menstruation	2
Both before menstruation	3
Both after menstruation	5
Just before and midway	4
One week before and midway	1
During and midway	2
Just after and midway	2
Ten days before and during menstruation	1
A week before and during menstruation	1
Just before and about 10 days before that	2
Just before and during (one period) and after	1
A week before and a week after	1
	89

Those who have observed two or three periods find they occur—

Just before and after menstruation	2
Before and after (a week or so apart)	2
Before and midway	1
Before and after and midway	1
Before usually—sometimes during	1
Before and after, and sometimes during	2
Before, during, and sometimes after	1
Before and during	2
Before, after and during	1
Before usually, during rarely—after sometimes	1
Just before, just after, and sometimes a week later	1
After (no time given)	1
Just before, midway and sometimes during	1
Two or three times in the week before	1
	18

Those who have observed three or more periods find they occur—

Three periods—before, during, and after		2
Three or four periods—before, during, and after		2
Four periods		4
Weekly	2	
Before, then others 5 to 7 days apart following	1	
Before, after, and one or two between	1	
Four or five periods		2
During, after and before, 4 or 5 days apart	1	
From a day or so before to a day or so after	1	
"Several periods"		2
Beginning just after, in the week or 10 days following	1	
Usually before, occasionally after	1	
"Many" periods several days apart throughout the month		1
		13

(*c*) The 120 who recognize two or more periods.

Intensity Compared—

Unanswered	47
The same	19
Different	51
Cannot tell	3
	120

Duration Compared—

Unanswered	81
Equal	11
Unequal	23
Cannot say	5
	120

Distance Apart—

Unanswered	40
Cannot say, varies	7
A few days	12
Five to seven days	1

A week	18
A week or so	2
A week or ten days	1
Ten days	12
Two weeks	21
Ten days to two weeks	3
One day to two weeks	1
Indefinite	2
	120

Duration—

Unanswered	35
Cannot say	3
Until satisfied	13
A few seconds	2
A few minutes	8
A short time	5
Varies with occupation	2
An hour or so	3
A few hours	4
A few hours to days	4
A day	3
A day or two	14
Several days	11
Two days	3
"Days"	1
A week	2
A week to ten days	1
A few minutes to 2 or 3 days	3
From three-quarters of an hour to a day	1
A few minutes to a few hours	1
Sometimes almost the whole interval between periods	1
	120

(*d*)

Temptation to Sex Indulgence—

Unanswered	33
Yes	119
No	99
Sometimes	13
Possibly	4
Formerly; not now	3
Reads love stories to the neglect of important duties	1
	272

Weakens Resistance to Temptation—

Unanswered	119
Yes	80
No	62
Sometimes	1

Possibly	5
In some ways	1
Formerly; not now	2
Do not know	2
	272

Of the 272 who recognize periodicity of desire, nearly one-half, or 126, state that it occurs at approximately the same time each month. In 26 instances a second period is sometimes but not always observed. In 89 cases two periods are always recognizable, while in 18 more two periods always are observed, with sometimes a third. The remaining 13 cases are scattered, lying between "three" and "many."

In the consideration of this problem the exact relationship of the desire to the menstrual period is probably the most important factor.

In textbooks on physiology and reproduction it is commonly stated that sex desire in women is strongest *after* menstruation. For example, W. H. Howell in his *Textbook of Physiology* writes: "The sexual excitement that attends the condition (heat of estrous) in lower animals is not distinctly represented in man, although it is commonly said that in the period following menstruation the sexual desire is stronger than at other times." [1]

Francis Hugh Adam Marshall in his *Physiology of Reproduction* makes the same statement. "The period of most acute sexual feeling is generally just *after* the close of the menstrual period." [2] Havelock Ellis in his *Psychology of Sex* writes: "Whatever doubt may exist as to the most frequent state of the sexual emotions during the period of menstruation, there can be no doubt whatever that immediately before and immediately after, very commonly at both times,—this varying slightly in different women,—there is usually a marked heightening of actual desire." [3]

Ellis quotes Kraft-Ebing who places the heightening of sexual emotion at the postmenstrual period, Adler who states that it is increased before, during and after menstruation, and Harry Campbell

[1] Howell, W. H., *Textbook of Physiology,* p. 949. Philadelphia and London, W. B. Saunders Company, ed. 5, 1913.

[2] Marshall, Francis Hugh Adam, *The Physiology of Reproduction,* p. 138. New York, Longmans, Green & Co., 1922.

[3] Ellis, Havelock, *Studies in the Psychology of Sex.* Vol. I, p. 103. Philadelphia, F. A. Davis Company, ed. 3, 1923.

who as a result of certain inquiries made of their husbands who were patients at a London hospital, declares of their wives that the proportion of cases in which sexual feeling was increased before the flow, to those in which it was increased after, was as three to two.[1]

Marie Stopes in *Married Love* presents a chart showing "the Periodicity of Natural Desire in Healthy Women."[2] "Various causes make slight irregularities in the position, size, and duration of the wave-crests but the general rhythmic sequence is apparent."

In this diagram the strength of desire is shown to be the greatest in the three or four days preceding menstruation lasting three or four days, and again from the seventh to the tenth or eleventh day following, dropping below the "level of potential desire" during the menstrual period. Miss Stopes gives no intimation of the extent of the data on which her chart is based nor of her method of obtaining them.

For purposes of comparison, Table IV is arranged to show the comparative frequency with which "before," "after," "during," or "midway" is given as a period of desire in our 272 cases.

Where, for example, 8 is given in both the columns headed "before" and "after," and connected by the word "or" is meant that 8 women reply that they experience one or two periods of desire sometimes before and sometimes after the menstrual period. Where the figures are placed in two columns and connected by the word "and," it means that two periods are regularly observed in such relationships, etc., etc.

Adding the columns we find that 205 women mention "before" as the only period, or one of two or more periods observed, 46 mention "during" in the same way, while 152 give "after," and 20 "midway" as the only period, or one of two or more periods at which a regular wave of desire occurs. The proportion "before" to "after" is about 4 to 3.

Table III shows that in addition to the 272 women who recognize regular periods of desire, there were 298 who, while observing certain periods of desire, did not find them recurring regularly at the same time month after month.

[1] *Loc. cit.*, p. 104.

[2] Stopes, Marie Carmichael, *Married Love, A New Contribution to Sex Difficulties*, p. 68, Chart I. London, G. P. Putnam & Sons, ed. 12, 1923.

TABLE IV

PERIODICITY OF DESIRE WITH REFERENCE TO THE MENSTRUAL PERIOD

Number of periods	Before	During	After	"Between" or midway	Comments
One 126 cases	69 (9 and 1	3 9)[1] (3 and	38 3)[1] 1[2]	3	[1] One period. [2] Either but not both.
One or two 26 cases	8 2 5[3] 1 3[4] 1[1] 1[2]	or 1[2] 1[2]	8[1] 2 or 2[2] 5 1 1 1	2[1]	[1] One or both. [2] Occasionally. [3] Sometimes. [4] One or two waves, both before.
Two 89 cases	57 10 and 5[1] 5 and (1 and	and 10 2 and 2 1)[2] and	57 2 5[1] and 1 2 and	 5 2 2	[1] Both. [2] One period.
Two or three 18 cases	4 1 1 1 1 1 2 1 1[2] 1 1 1[6]	 1[1] 1[1] 1 2 1 1[3]	4 1 1[1] 1 1[1] 1 1[4] 1[5]	1 1 1	[1] Sometimes. [2] Usually. [3] Rarely. [4] And sometimes a week later. [5] No time given. [6] Two or three times the week before.
Three 2 cases	2	2	2		

TABLE IV (*continued*)

Number of periods	Before	During	After	"Between" or midway	Comments
Three or four 2 cases	2	2	2		
Four 4 cases	2[1] 1 1		2[1] 1[2] 1	2[1] 1[3]	[1] Weekly. [2] Others a few days apart. [3] One or two between.
Four or five 2 cases	1[1] 1[2]	1[1] 1[2]	1[1] 1[2]		[1] Beginning before, then four or five days apart. [2] From a day or two before to a day or two after.
"Several" 2 cases	 1[2]		1[1] 1[2]		[1] All in the week or ten days following. [2] Usually all before but occasionally after.
"Many" 1[1]					[1] Several days apart throughout the month.
Total, 272 Number of times mentioned	205	46	152	20	

In other words, desire occurred at "less regular intervals." In this group there were 201 women who placed their desire with reference to the menstrual period. Of these 166 women stated that they were sometimes conscious of desire but not each month. When it did come it preceded menstruation in 93 cases and followed in 40. Thirteen others said "one or two," 20 said "two" and 2 sometimes experienced from one to three such periods.

Table V presents these cases in the same manner as Table IV.

It will be observed that, taking this group as a whole, about twice as many noted the feeling as preceding the menstrual period than as following it, a proportion very much larger than

that of the group exhibiting regular monthly periodicity, which as has been said was in the ratio of 4 to 3.

TABLE V

RELATION OF DESIRE TO MENSTRUAL PERIOD OF THOSE WHO DO NOT RECOGNIZE MONTHLY PERIODICITY

	Before	During	After	"Between" or midway	Comments
Observe one period of desire but not regularly every month. 166 cases	93 9	19 or	40 9[1]	5	[1] Either but not both.
One or two periods but not regularly. 13 cases	9 or 2 or 1	9[1] 2 1 or or	2	1	[1] One or both in all this group.
May have two periods but not regularly. 20 cases	8 and 8 1	8[1] and and 3 and	8 3[1]	1	[1] Am not certain in these two groups. It *may* mean one period begun in one division and extending into next.
One to three periods. 2 cases	2 (or)	2 (or)	2[1]		
Total, 201	133	44	64	7	

From the group recognizing regular monthly periodicity, we have selected for special study a group of 110 cases where the observed relation of desire to the menstrual period was stated so definitely as to make it possible to place it exactly. Of this group 59 individuals recognize one definite period of desire monthly, while 51 recognize two such periods.

Charts I and II give a graphic presentation of this data. In each chart the lunar month of twenty-eight days is represented

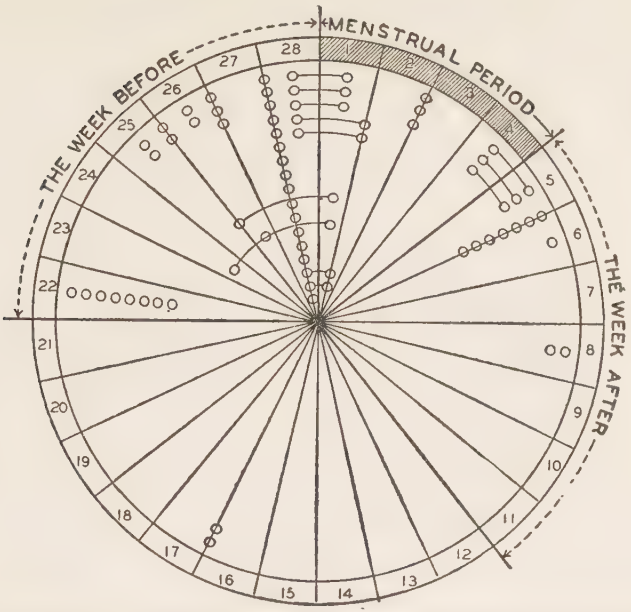


CHART I.—FREQUENCY OF SEX DESIRE. FIFTY-NINE CASES WITH ONE PERIOD OF DESIRE MONTHLY

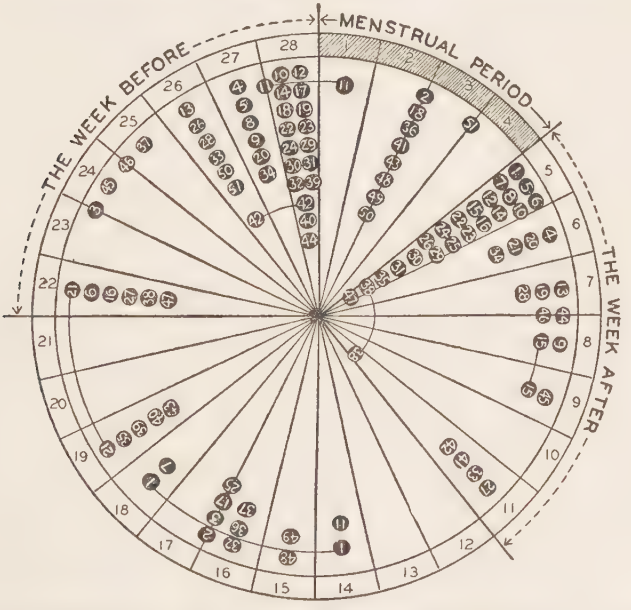


CHART II.—FREQUENCY OF SEX DESIRE. FIFTY-ONE CASES WITH TWO PERIODS OF DESIRE MONTHLY.

by a large circle divided into 28 segments, one for each day. The menstrual period is fixed at the average of four days. "The week before" and "the week after" are indicated.

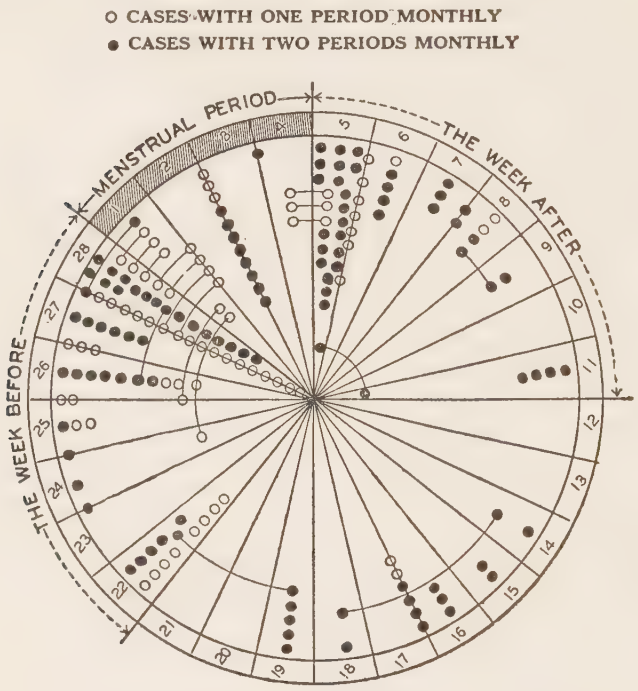


Chart III.—Frequency of sex desire. One hundred ten cases.

In Chart I the 59 small circles represent the dates given in the 59 cases of one period per month. When a statement reads "one week before," the circle is placed in the middle of the seventh segment preceding the one marked 1. If the statement reads "one or two days preceding," the circle is placed on the line dividing the appropriate segments. Where it says "the day before, lasting into the first day of the menstrual flow," two circles connected by a line indicate this condition, etc., etc.

In this group it will be noted that in all but two cases the wave of desire occurs in a period beginning with the first day of the

week preceding and ending with the fourth day in the week following the menstrual period.

The group of cases presented in Chart II represents those who experience two periods of desire monthly which they place with definiteness. The same method of placement is used as in Chart I, but here we have used black circles. The 51 cases are numbered consecutively, two circles for each case representing the two periods *e.g.*, Case 1 says: "Immediately following the menstrual period and from ten days to two weeks following that." Case 2 says: "Immediately following the menstrual period and two weeks later," etc., etc. An inspection of this chart shows only four segments free from circles.

Chart III combines the two groups, the white circles indicating the cases in group one and the black circles those in group two. On this chart only three segments are free from circles, those representing the 12th, 13th and 23rd days from the beginning of the menstrual flow. It would seem probable that with a larger group of cases, circles might appear in these segments also, and thus show that on any day in the month there are individuals who experience sex desire.

Table VI summarizes the findings on Chart III.

It will be observed that the ratio of "before" to "after" is as 8 to 5. In the entire group of 272 the ratio was approximately 8 to 6 (4 to 3), while in the "irregular" group it was almost 8 to 4 (2 to 1).

TABLE VI

110 CASES WHERE PERIODICITY IS DEFINITELY PLACED

	Before	During	After	Midway	Comments
One period 59 cases	32 (9 and	3 9)[1] (3[1] and	10 3)	2	[1] One period
Two periods 51 cases	38 (1 and	9 1)[1]	37	17	[1] One period
Total, 110	80	25	50	19	

On the whole it would appear that for this particular group of cases the proportion of "before" is considerably greater than "after," but that so far as present studies go no more definite deductions are possible.

CORRELATIONS

In order to discover whether the group of 272 who recognize definite periods of desire differed in any further particulars from the other groups shown in Table VII, we have worked out several sets of correlations.[1]

TABLE VII

1. Unanswered as to sex feeling or desire (2 admit masturbation)	10
2. No sex feeling, desire or expression	124
3. Sex feeling and sex desire admitted	594
4. Sex feeling and sex desire with periodicity	272
Total	1000

In Table VII we have placed in one group the 124 cases where there was consistent denial throughout the questionnaire of sex feeling or desire, and in another the 594 cases where such feelings or experiences or both were admitted but where regular periodicity had never been observed.

The correlations compare groups 3 and 4 with each other and also with group 2, where the data are comparable. For some purposes group 4 was broken up to determine whether there were any points at which the 110 who most definitely placed their feeling of desire differed from the rest of the group.

Age.—The first comparison is that of age. An inspection of Table VIII shows that there is not sufficient difference in the groups whose numbers are large enough for comparison to be significant of anything.

First Remembrance of Sex Feeling.—In an effort to discover whether the age at which sex feelings first came into consciousness had any relation to periodicity, Table IX was constructed. Of course the only data we have to go upon is the unassisted memory of the persons replying.

[1] The method of comparison is that used in previous studies.

TABLE VIII

AGE CORRELATED WITH SEX FEELING AND PERIODICITY OF SEX DESIRE

Age	Unanswered as to periodicity	No sex feeling or experience	Have observed regular periodicity of desire	Sex feeling but no regular periodicity	Total
Unanswered				3	3
22 years			1		1
23 years				1	1
24 years				1	1
25 years		1	1	6	8
26 years		1	7	10	18
27 years		4	13	29	46
28 years		5	17	40	62
29 years		10	16	35	61
30 years	1	6	25	61	93
31 years		9	17	29	55
32 years		9	18	41	68
33 years	1	3	13	27	44
34 years		6	16	21	43
35 years		6	17	21	44
36 years		4	13	18	35
37 years		4	5	19	28
38 years		2	6	19	27
39 years		4	7	19	30
40 years	1	1	8	13	23
41 years	1	2	4	17	24
42 years	1	5	9	15	30
43 years		3	4	9	16
44 years		1	7	13	21
45 years		5	5	10	20
46 years	1	2	9	11	23
47 years	1	1	6	11	19
48 years		2	7	14	23
49 years		1	6	9	16
50 years		3	3	10	16
51 years	1	4		5	10
52 years		4	5	9	18
53 years		3	1	10	14
54 years	1	3		1	5
55 years			1	6	7
56 years		3	1	8	12
57 years				2	2
58 years		1	1	1	3
59 years		1		5	6
60 years		4		6	10
61 years		1		2	3

TABLE VIII (*continued*)

Age	Unanswered as to periodicity	No sex feeling or experience	Have observed regular periodicity of desire	Sex feeling but no regular periodicity	Total
62 years	.....	.....	.....	2	2
63 years	1	.....	.....	.....	1
64 years	.....	.....	.....	1	1
65 years	.....	.....	1	2	3
66 years	.....	.....	1	2	3
67 years	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
68 years	.....	.....	1	.....	1
Totals	10	124	272	594	1000
Average	44.7	39.2	36.8	36.6	37.4
Mode	.....	29	30	30	30
Highest	63	61	68	66	68
Lowest	30	25	22	23	22
Mean	46.5	43	45	44.5	45

It seems reasonable that sex desire must be strongest in those cases where it occurs regularly and registers with sufficient strength to make it possible to date it with reference to the menstrual period. Accordingly, Column I shows the 110 cases where periodicity was definitely dated. Column II shows the remainder of the cases where regular periodicity was observed. Column III is the total of Columns I and II, and Column V is the total of those admitting sex feelings, sex desires and sex practices, one or all of these.

A study of these figures gives the following: In the group of those who remember sex feeling in early childhood there is a difference in percentages between those who recognize periodicity and those who do not, sufficiently high, taking into account the numbers in the respective groups, to be certainly significant, that is, those who had recognizable sex feelings in childhood were more likely to report recognizable periodicity of desire.

Differences in group 4 between Columns III and IV are also sufficiently large to be significant. That is, a significantly large

TABLE IX

EARLIEST REMEMBRANCE OF SEX FEELING—CORRELATED WITH PERIODICITY OF SEX DESIRE

Earliest remembrance of sex feeling	I 110 cases periodicity definitely placed		II 162 cases periodicity not definitely placed		III 272 cases total recognizing periodicity		IV† 595 cases sex feeling or desire but no periodicity		V 686 cases total admitting sex feeling, desire or practices	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
1. Before menstruation was established	66	61.11*	101	63.52	167	62.55	296	54.51	463	57.16
2. Between the establishment of menstruation and entrance to college	7	6.48	7	4.40	14	5.24	29	5.34	43	5.30
3. During college course	6	5.55	23	14.46	29	10.86	45	8.28	74	9.13
4. After graduation	29	26.85	28	17.61	57	21.35	173	31.86	230	28.39
5. Unanswered	2	.....	3	.....	5	.....	53	.....	58	.....
Total	110	99.99	162	99.99	272	100.00	596	99.99	868	99.98
6. No sex feelings, desire or practices									124	
7. Unanswered as to sex feelings or desires									8‡	
Total cases									1000	

* All percentages in this and the following tables are based on number replying unless otherwise stated.

† Two cases are added to this group from the group who did not answer as to sex feelings but who admitted masturbation.

‡ The two cases that admitted masturbation are subtracted.

proportion of those who do not recognize periodicity did not recognize sex feeling till after graduation from college.

In groups 2 and 3 the differences of percentage are too small to be significant and the numbers in the groups themselves are too small to admit of mathematical treatment.

The variations between Columns I and II are too small in all instances where taken in connection with the numbers in the group to be significant.

Sex Problems of Childhood.—The questionnaire on which this study is based contains, in Section IV, certain questions relating to sex problems. These are as follows:

Sex Problems.—Another very important aspect of this study of the sex life is a knowledge of the problems which have arisen from time to time in the lives of individuals. At present we have meager data.

We do not know, even approximately, what proportion of people have sex problems at different periods of their development. We do not know in any detail the nature of these problems. And what is of still greater importance, we do not know how they have handled them. We have reason to believe that the problems of childhood are not the problems of adolescence; that the problems of adolescence are not those of adulthood.

In the interest of a better understanding of the sex life we earnestly ask that you give frank and full replies to the following questions:

1. Are you being bothered with anything pertaining to sex now? Please describe the problem in detail
   What do you think is the reason or cause of it?
   What are you doing to solve this problem?
2. What were the outstanding sex problems or worries of adolescence? (From first menstruation to the age of 21.) Please describe each as fully as possible.
   How did you attack these problems?
   With what success?
3. What were the outstanding sex problems or worries of childhood? (Up to the time of first menstruation.) Describe these as fully as possible.
   How were these attacked?
   With what success?
4. What is the earliest sex problem or worry that you can recall? Please describe as fully as you can.
   How was this handled?
   With what success?

Inasmuch as the group which recognized periodicity contains a significantly higher percentage of those who remember sex feelings in childhood, a comparison of these two groups with reference to childhood problems appeared of interest.

Table X presents a summary of the answers to Section IV, question 3.

The answers to the last three questions in this section are in certain particulars less satisfactory than those in other sections of the questionnaire. An inspection of the table shows the large proportion of "unanswered," a proportion of the whole considerably greater than the answers to most other questions. It raises the possibility of a certain misapprehension. In many of the papers where "No" is written after question 1, and no other

TABLE X

SEX PROBLEMS OF CHILDHOOD—CORRELATED WITH SEX FEELINGS AND PERIODICITY OF SEX DESIRE

Description of group	Had problem		No problem		Unanswered as to problem	Total group
	No.	%	No.	%		
1. Group which has no sex feeling or sex experience	.....	.....	124	100.00	.....	124
2. Group which has sex feeling and recognizes periodicity	62	29.10*	151	70.90	59	272
3. Group which has sex feeling but no recognition of periodicity	167	39.95*	266	60.05	161	594
4. Group which failed to answer as to sex feeling or periodicity	.....	.....	3	.....	7	10
Total	299	.....	544	.....	227	1000

* Percentage of those replying.

word is used in the remainder of the section, perhaps the writer intended "No" to the entire section. This, however, is guess work. If we take the answers at their face value the differences in percentages are certainly significant—that is, a significantly larger proportion of those who recall sex problems of childhood are in the group which has *not* observed regular periodicity.

This conclusion can also be reached in another way:

Out of the 272 women who recognize regular periodicity, 167 remember sex feelings in childhood. Of these 167 there are 62, or 37.1 per cent, who also remember sex problems.

Of the 594 who do not recognize regular periodicity, 296 recall sex feeling in childhood. Out of this group 167 cases, or 56.4 per cent, of these experiences amount to problems. In other words, there is 19.3 per cent more of this latter group who recall problems than of the former,—a difference certainly significant. An interpretation of this result in accordance with modern thought is possible. The present writer, however, is concerned with the presentation of data and leaves explanation to those better qualified.

Present Sex Problems.—The reverse is true if we examine present problems.

A glance at Table XI shows that more than one-half—55.9 per cent—of those who recognized periodicity have present sex problems, while this is true in the case of only 43.8 per cent of those who do not. The difference is large enough to be certainly significant.

TABLE XI

PRESENT SEX PROBLEMS—CORRELATED WITH SEX FEELINGS AND PERIODICITY OF SEX DESIRE

Description of group	Has problem		No problem		Unanswered as to present problem	Total group
	No.	%	No.	%		
1. Group which has no sex feeling or sex experiences	.....	.....	124	100.00	.....	124
2. Group which has sex feeling and recognizes periodicity	142	55.90	112	44.09	18	272
3. Group with sex feeling but no recognition of periodicity	231	43.83	296	56.17	67	594
4. Group which failed to answer as to sex feeling or periodicity	.....	.....	8	100.00	2	10
Total	373	.....	540	.....	87	1000

Sex Experiences.—As bearing on this point, we examined the data as to the actual sex expression admitted by the two groups. First we took masturbation as the commonest form in unmarried women. Table XII is the result. In this table the groups are divided into three sections, those who deny masturbation at any period of their lives, those who admit the practice in the past but claim to have stopped, and those who admit the practice at time of reply.

In the group which recognize periodicity there are only three individuals who fail to answer the question.

TABLE XII

MASTURBATION—CORRELATED WITH SEX FEELINGS AND PERIODICITY OF SEX DESIRE

Description of group	Never practiced		Stopped practice		Practiced at time of reply		Unanswered as to masturbation	Total group
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%		
1. Group which has no sex feeling or sex experience	124	100.00	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	124
2. Group which has sex feeling and recognizes periodicity	42	15.65	91	33.82	136	50.50	3	272
3. Group with sex feeling but no recognition of periodicity	154	29.16	202	38.25	172	30.64	66	594
4. Group which failed to answer as to sex feeling of periodicity	7	77.77	2	22.22	.....	.....	1	10
Total	327	.....	295	.....	308	.....	70	1000

In the group which has stopped the practice there is no significant difference in the percentages between those who recognize periodicity and those who did not. Between groups 2 and 3 the difference is significant as to both those who never practiced and those who practice at the time of replying. It will be noted that of the 272 who recognize periodicity, only 15 per cent say they never masturbated, while 50 per cent admit the continuation of the practice; on the other hand, of the 594 who admit sex feeling but have never recognized periodicity, 29 per cent never practiced while 30.6 per cent only practice at the time of reply.

The question of the relation of periodicity to sex expression is carried further in Table XIII, but without much result. An inspection of the table and an examination of percentage differences gives positive significant differences only in the comparison of the total groups of those who do and who do not observe regular periodicity of desire in the case of "no physical gratification admitted," (line 1, Columns III and IV) and in the total number of those who admit masturbation (line 9, Columns III and IV). The percentage differences between line 2, Columns III and IV, come within two-tenths of 1 per cent of being certainly valid.

This lack of difference is not, however, surprising. Masturba-

TABLE XIII

SEX EXPRESSION—CORRELATED WITH SEX FEELING AND PERIODICITY OF SEX DESIRE

Sex expression	I Periodicity definitely placed		II Periodicity not definitely placed		III Total recognizing periodicity		IV Admit sex feeling or desire but no periodicity		V Total group	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
1. No physical gratification admitted	20	18.18	25	15.43	45	16.54	164	27.51	341†	34.1
2. Masturbation only	57	51.81	80	49.38	137	50.36	259	43.45	396	39.6
3. Homosexual expression only	3	2.72	4	2.48	7	2.57	36	6.04	43	4.3
4. Sex intercourse only	4	3.63	6	3.70	10	3.67	2	0.33	12	1.2
5. Masturbation and homosexual expression	15	13.63	21	12.96	36	13.23	79	13.27	115	11.5
6. Masturbation and sex intercourse	7	6.36	20	12.34	27	9.92	40	6.71	67	6.7
7. Homosexual expression and sex intercourse	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	1	0.16	1	0.1
8. Homosexual expression, sex intercourse and masturbation	4	3.63	6	3.70	10	3.63	15	2.51	25	2.4
Total	110	99.96	162	99.99	272	99.90	596*	99.98	1000	100.0
Summary										
9. Total who have practiced masturbation	83	75.45	127	77.77	210	77.20	393	65.94	603	.....
10. Total who have had homosexual expression	22	20.00	31	19.19	53	19.48	131	21.97	184	.....
11. Total who have had sex intercourse	15	13.63	32	19.81	47	17.24	58	9.7	105	.....

* Two added from Group 1—Table VII who admit masturbation.

† This group included: 1st, numbers in III 1, and IV 1; 2nd, 124 cases who have no sex feeling, desire, or sex gratification admitted; 3rd, 8 cases of the group of 10 who failed to answer Section III A 1 and 2. (The other 2 cases in this group admitted masturbation.)

tion is a secret personal practice, involving no other individual, and is more likely to be the result of a strong sex desire in unmarried women than would be gratification that runs counter to generally accepted conventions in the group to which these women belong.

In this table percentages are based on the numbers in each group *admitting* the various practices.

Health.—General health is of so great importance in the life of every woman that a correlation was made of the periodicity of desire and the state of health of the individual at the time of replying to the questionnaire.

That the women generally recognize the importance of this question is shown by the fact that only one out of the entire 1000 failed to answer.

The results are shown in Table XIV.

TABLE XIV

HEALTH—CORRELATED WITH SEX FEELING AND PERIODICITY OF SEX DESIRE

Description of group	I	II	III	IV	V		VI	VII
	Poor	Fair	Good	Excellent	(III+IV)		Unanswered as to health	Totals
					No.	%		
1. Group with no sex feeling or sex experience	8	16	42	58	100	80.6	.....	124
2. Group which has sex feeling and recognizes periodicity	10	45	111	106	217	79.8	.....	272
3. Group with sex feeling or experience, but no recognition of periodicity	33	115	223	224	447	75.0	1	596
4. Group which failed to answer as to sex feeling or periodicity	.....	3	.....	5	5	.....	.....	8
Total	51	179	376	393	769	76.9	1	1000
5. (Groups 2+3)*	43	160	334	330	664	76.5	.....	867

* All those who recognize sex feeling or desire or who have had sex expression.

Column V shows the numbers in the respective groups whose present health (at the time of reply) was good or better. The percentages in this column show that the highest percentage of good and excellent health is in the group of 124 individuals who deny all sex feeling and experience. The group which comes next with so small a percentage of difference as to be negligible is that in which the individuals recognize periodicity of desire. Comparison of percentages show that no percentage differences are valid.

Nervous Breakdowns.—So-called nervous breakdowns must be the result of pathologic physical or mental conditions, or both. Under "health" one of the questions asked was, "Have you ever had a nervous breakdown?"

The replies are presented in Table XV.

Out of the total of 1000 women all but 6 answered this ques-

tion. One hundred and ninety-six had had a breakdown, while 104 had "almost" or "nearly" reached that point. This together amounts to 30 per cent of the entire 1000.

Examining the groups we have been considering, we find significant differences in the number of breakdowns and near

TABLE XV

NERVOUS BREAKDOWNS—CORRELATED WITH SEX FEELING AND PERIODICITY OF SEX DESIRE

Description of group	I No nervous breakdown		II Near nervous breakdown		III Nervous breakdown		IV II and III		V Unanswered as to breakdown	VI Total group
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%		
1. Group which has no sex feeling or experience.	99	79.03	7	5.68	17	13.82	24	19.50	1	124
2. Group which has sex feeling and recognizes periodicity.....	189	69.48	25	9.19	56	21.32	83	30.51	.....	272
3. Group with sex feeling but no recognition of periodicity.....	399	67.51	71	12.05	121	20.54	192	32.59	5	596
4. Group which failed to answer as to sex feeling or periodicity....	6	75.00	1	12.50	1	12.50	2	25.00	.....	8
Total.....	693	69.61	104	10.46	197	19.83	301	30.58	6	1000

breakdowns between groups 1 and 2 and 1 and 3, but no differences large enough to be significant between groups 2 and 3.

In other words, both groups which admit sex feeling or experiences or both, have a percentage of breakdowns sufficiently higher than the percentage of breakdowns in the group with no sex feeling to make it certain that it is not the result of chance sampling.

Between the groups which do and do not recognize periodicity, there is no valid difference.

Happiness.—Happiness is a purely subjective matter. It is a state of mind conditioned by a large number of factors. In most cases it has a good deal to do with efficiency,—no one denies its importance, no one has ever devised a quantitative or qualitative measurement of happiness to be applied from without.

In a questionnaire study it is impossible to go back of the statements of the persons replying. In this present study the question was put as follows:

"Do you consider your life as a whole (a) happy, (b) unhappy? In either case why?"

Table XVI shows how the women in the groups under consideration rate themselves.

The highest percentage of happiness is found in the group which deny all sex feeling or experience. Next to this, and not

TABLE XVI

HAPPINESS—CORRELATED WITH SEX FEELING AND PERIODICITY OF SEX DESIRE

Description of groups	Unhappy	Neutral	Fairly happy	Happy		Unanswered as to happiness	Total group
				No.	%		
1. Group which has no sex feeling or sex experience	3	.....	10	100	88.32	11	124
2. Group which has sex feeling and recognizes periodicity	29	13	30	183	71.76	17	272
3. Group with sex feeling but no recognition of periodicity	32	13	43	469	84.20	39	596
4. Group which failed to answer as to sex feeling or periodicity	1	.....	1	6	75.00	.....	8
Total	65	26	84	758	81.24	67	1000

significantly below it, comes the group with sex feeling but no observation of periodicity. The lowest percentage of happiness is in the group which recognizes periodicity, and this is sufficiently lower than that in the other two groups to be certainly significant in both cases.

SUMMARY.—The study of 1,000 sex histories of unmarried college graduates at least five years out of college, shows that all but 132 women admit sex feeling, sex desires, or some form of sex expression. Of the group of 868 with these experiences, 272 have recognized regular periodicity of sex desire, while 110 of this number date it so closely that it is possible to chart day of desire with reference to the menstrual period. Chart III shows only three days in the month which are not mentioned

by at least one individual as the date of desire. As has been said, it is probable that if a larger or a different group were used these two would be indicated. While there is this scattering throughout the month the group which places the period of desire in the week previous to menstruation compares with the group which places it after it as 8 to 5, but in the group which does not recognize *regular* periodicity the proportion of those who place it *before* is to those who place it *after* as 2 to 1.

The effort to determine through correlations whether there are other demonstrably significant differences between the three principal groups we have been considering, results as follows:

The group of 124 women who consistently maintain that they have never had sex feeling, sex desires, or sex expression of any kind have as a consequence no sex problems. The difference of average age between this group and the other two groups is negligible. This group on the whole has significantly better health than the group which admits sex feeling but has not observed periodicity, but not significantly better than the group which *has* observed regular periodicity. This group also has a significantly higher freedom from nervous breakdowns.

The last correlation made, that of the woman's own opinion as to the happiness of her life, shows that in their own view of the situation the 124 who deny all sex feeling or experience are the happiest; the group which does not recognize periodicity is not significantly lower, while the group which recognizes periodicity is significantly less happy than either of the other two groups.

Comparing now only the two groups which recognize and do not recognize periodicity of sex desire, we find that they differ significantly from each other in the following particulars: First, the group which recognizes periodicity of desire has a significantly higher percentage of those who recall sex feelings in childhood, and a significantly lower percentage of those who do not recall sex feelings until after leaving college. Second, comparing the percentages in the two groups as to the remembrance of sex problems in childhood, we find a significantly higher percentage in the group which *does not* recognize periodicity. Third, the

reverse is true in the case of present sex problems where those who recognize periodicity have a significantly higher percentage of problems than those who do not. Fourth, turning to the various forms of sex expression, we find under masturbation valid differences between the two groups in the case of those who never had the habit and those who practice it at the time of reply, the percentages being significantly higher in both instances in the group which recognized periodicity. Fifth, there is no significant difference between the two groups, either as to homosexuality or sex intercourse. Sixth, under health we find significantly better health in the group which recognizes periodicity. Seventh, there is no valid difference between the two groups in the matter of nervous breakdowns, and finally, eighth, the percentage of happiness is significantly less in the group which recognizes periodicity.

The integration of these data into any theory is both unwise and unscientific with only the group at hand which represents in its composition an approximately homogeneous class of women.

CHAPTER IX

PERIODICITY OF SEX DESIRE—MARRIED WOMEN

As AT some other points we find that our material on the periodicity of desire of the married woman is not as full nor in some ways as satisfactory as that received from the unmarried. This is due in part at least to the form and arrangement of the questionnaire itself. We have stated in a preceding chapter[1] that the questionnaire for unmarried women is divided into sections on a basis of subject matter, while that for married women is on a basis of age and status.

In both, Section I deals with General Information designed to give us not only certain definite details of age, education, occupation, etc., but to orient us as to the type of woman replying.

In the unmarried women's questionnaire, Section II deals with Sex Information and Sex Instruction; Section III with Sex Feeling and Sex Experience; Section IV with Sex Problems; and Section V with Opinions.

In the married women's questionnaire, Section II deals with childhood to fourteen years; Section III, fourteen years to marriage; Section IV, marriage; and Section V with women who have passed the menopause.

In the unmarried women's questionnaire the questions concerning sex desire and its relation to the menstrual period naturally come under Section III, Sex Feeling, while in the married women's questionnaire they were placed under the section dealing with experiences from fourteen years *up to marriage*. Unfortunately no questions relating to this particular point were placed in the section dealing with marriage and

[1] See page 151.

only in a few instances did the women in their replies state in what way if any their feelings were changed by marriage.

It seems quite possible that marital experiences may have blunted the memories of what went before and that this may account at least partially for the much smaller number who report that they recognized periodicity of desire.

The questions concerning periodicity of sex desire and its relation to the menstrual period, as they appeared in the questionnaire for married women are as follows:

Section III. *Fourteen years to marriage*

1. Did you experience any strong sex feelings or desires during girlhood? (From age fourteen to marriage: e.g., excitation of organs; craving for self-induced sex pleasure; sex intercourse with a man.) If so, describe their nature.
2. Did these desires (if any) arise at more or less regular periods? If so:
   (a) How many such marked periods of desire did you have in the time between menstruations (monthly sickness)?
   (b) What relation, in time, did they have to your menstrual period (during; before; after; how long before or after)?
   (c) If you had more than one such wave of desire between menstruations, were they of equal or different intensity and duration? How far apart were they? How long did they continue?
   (d) Were these periods of desire (if any) strong enough to produce temptation to sex indulgence?
   To diminish resistance to temptation?

Table I answers the first question.

TABLE I

SEX FEELING DURING GIRLHOOD

SECTION III. 1.

Entire question unanswered	43	
"Do not remember"	6—	49
Deny any sex feeling or desire during girlhood		582
Admit sex feeling or desire before marriage		369
Total		1000

TABLE I (*continued*)

NATURE OF FEELING

Unanswered	19
Spontaneous excitation of organs	193
Craving for self-indulged sex pleasure	128
Craving for sex-intercourse with a man*	61
All three	9
Desire for brutal handling	2
Desire for love-making	3
	396†

* Only after engagement, 21.

† Of these 46 mention two of the three desires.

It will be noted that 369 recall such feelings. The answers of this group to question 2 are shown in Table II.

TABLE II

SECTION III. 2.

Have observed sex feeling during girlhood:	
Have observed regular periodicity	126
Have observed irregular periodicity	45
Have observed no periodicity	176
Unanswered	22
Total	369

It will be noted that only 126 of the 369 observed regular periodicity, while 45 others observed a periodicity which did not occur every month.

In answer to question 2(a), we have the results shown in Table III.

TABLE III

NUMBER OF PERIODS OF DESIRE BETWEEN MENSTRUAL PERIODS

SECTION III. 2. (a)

1 period		69
2 periods		22
One or two	10	
"One or more"	1	
One to three	1	
One to four	1	
Two or three	4	
Three	3	

TABLE III (*continued*)

Three or four	3	
Five	1	
"Several"	6	
Daily	5—	35
Total		126

Omitting for the moment the consideration of the relation of periodicity to the menstrual period, we observe that question 2 (c) of Section III was quite generally ignored or misunderstood. So few of the 126 who observed periodicity attempted any reply that no comments are worth while. The answers to 2 (d) are shown as follows:

Was desire strong enough to produce temptation to sex indulgence?

Yes	66
No	40
Unanswered	20
Total	126

To diminish resistance to temptation?

Yes	43
No	19
Unanswered	64
Total	126

Following the order of presentation adopted in Chapter VIII, we will consider next the relation of periodicity of desire to the menstrual period and the relative frequency with which "before," "during," "after" or "midway" is mentioned. Table IV presents this relation in the 126 cases which recognize definite periodicity.

It will be observed from the totals that the difference in percentages between those who say "before" and those who say "after" is negligible. This is not the case with the unmarried group where it is shown in Chapter VIII that the ratio is as 4 to 3. (p. 197.)

In addition to the 126 women who observed regular perio-

dicity, 45 others had noted a periodicity which occurred at "less regular intervals," that is, not every month.

The relation of these desires to the menstrual period is shown in Table V.

The numbers in this group are too small for mathematic treatment. It is interesting, however, to note that while there is little difference in the proportions of those who say "before" and "after," as is the case with the group shown in Table IV, the percentage of those who mention "during" is very considerably higher. What, if anything, is the significance of this it is impossible to say.

From the group of 126 observing relative periodicity, we have selected 76 cases which place the date of the periods of desire so definitely that it is possible to chart them. The method is that used in the preceding chapter.

The circle, Chart I, divided into 28 segments, represents the lunar month. Four days are taken for the menstrual period, and the week preceding and the week following are indicated. We have arbitrarily assumed the menstrual cycle to be twenty-eight days and the average menstrual period to be four days. Work under way by a number of investigators may show that neither assumption is exact. For the presentation of our data it serves well enough.

Chart I presents 56 cases of one period of desire monthly. The 56 circles represent the dates in relation to the menstrual period. If a statement reads, "one or two days before," the circle is placed on the line between the dates. When a statement reads, "six days before," the circle is placed in the sixth segment preceding the one marked one. Where a statement reads, "beginning in the menstrual period and continuing into the day following," two circles connected by a line indicate this condition.

It will be noted that as in the case of the unmarried women, the very large proportion of dates given fall within a period included in the week before the menstrual period, the period itself and the two days following it.

TABLE IV

PERIODICITY OF DESIRE WITH REFERENCE TO THE MENSTRUAL PERIOD

Number of periods	Before	During	After	Midway	Comments
One					
69	30	1	20	3	
		6 and	6		
	5	or	5		
	1 and	1			
	1 or	1			
	2 and	2 and	2		
Two					
	19	and	19		
22			2 and	2	About 2 weeks after first period.
	1 and	1 or	1	1	
Three					
3	1[1]	and	1 and	1	[1] Midway period strongest
	1 and		1 and	1	
	1[2] and	1 and	1		[2] Hard to tell whether she means (1) continuous or (3) separate periods.
One or two					
10	2[1]				[1] Second period only occasionally.
	1[1]	1 and	1		
			1[2]		[2] Both after—first always and most intense; second occasionally and within same week.
	1		1[3]		[3] Always after—sometimes before also. No explanation as to which is more usual.
	1[4]				
	1[4]	1			[4] Always before—during occasionally.
	1[5]		1		[5] Always before—after occasionally.
	1[6]	or	1	1	[6] May come at any of these times but never during.

One person replied: "One or two always," but does not place with reference to menstrual period.

TABLE IV (*continued*)

Number of periods	Before	During	After	Midway	Comments
Two or three					
	1[1]		1		[1] Two or three occur within the week before or the week after.
4			1[2]		[2] Within one to two weeks after.
	1[3]		1		[3] Right after and within week before.
	1[4]		1	1	[4] At about one to two weeks' intervals.
Three or four					
3		1[1]	1		[1] Toward the last of the period and in the week following.
	1[2]		1		[2] Desire most intense just before.
	1[3]		1		[3] Very seldom before—after about a week apart if satisfied do not come closer together.
"One or more"					
1	1[1]				[1] Most intense just before.
One to three					
1	1		1		
One to four					
1	1[1]	1	1	1	[1] Just before always. The others may come about a week apart.
Five					
1	1[1]		1	1	[1] During the period of from 10 to 18 days after.
Several					
6	2				
	1[1]		1		[1] Only occasionally and faint.
	1[2]		1	1	[2] May come in intervening weeks.
	1	1[3]	1		[3] Toward very end of period sometimes.
	1	1[4]	1		[4] Most intense after; sometimes only at end of period.

TABLE IV (*continued*)

Number of periods	Before	During	After	Midway	Comments
Daily					
5	1[1]		1		[1] Strongest just before and just after.
			2[2]		[2] Strongest just after.
	1[3]	1	1		[3] Strongest just before, during and after.
	1[4]		1	1	[4] With the exception of during and a day or two after.
Total					
126	88	20	83	14	205
	42.9%	9.7%	40.4%	6.7%	

* Where a figure appears in two columns connected by the word "and," as for example, "6 and 6" in the two columns headed "during" and "after," it means that six individuals state that they have a period of desire beginning during menstruation and extending a day or more into the time following. "Or" connecting two figures means that the desire may come at one time or the other.

TABLE V

RELATION OF DESIRE TO MENSTRUAL PERIOD OF THOSE WHO DO NOT RECOGNIZE MONTHLY PERIODICITY

Before	During	After	Midway	Comments
11[1 2]	5[3 4]	9		[1] Two comment on dreams.
				[2] One person tries to lessen feeling by working late.
1 or	1			[3] One "feels very languid and eager for
1 and	1			spooning at this time."
4[5]	or	4		[4] One comments on day-dreams.
5	and	5		[5] One says: "am easily thrilled by men."
	5 and	5		
	1	and	1	
3 and	3 and	3		
25	16	26	1	Total, 68
36.7%	23.5%	38.2%	1.5%	

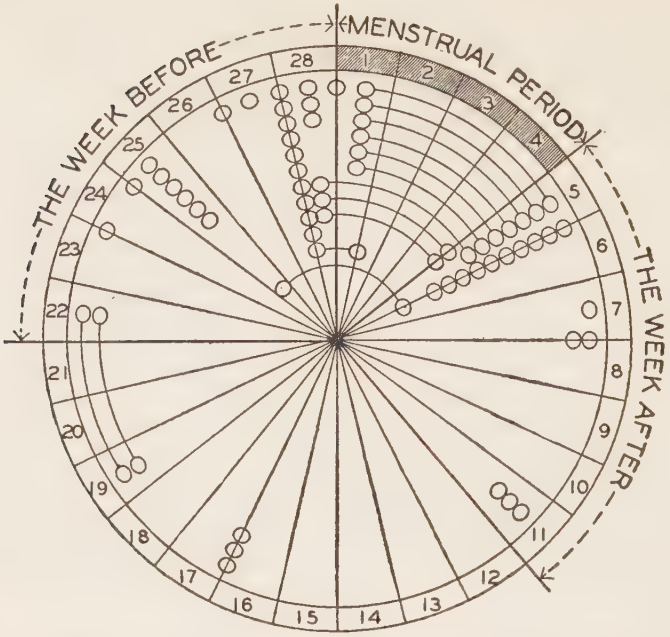


CHART I.—FREQUENCY OF SEX DESIRE. FIFTY-SIX CASES WITH ONE PERIOD OF DESIRE MONTHLY.

Chart II presents twenty cases where two definite periods are named. The black circles are numbered; for example, there will be two black circles bearing the figure 1. These are the two dates given by the first member of this group.

As in Chart I, the bulk of the circles occur within a limit of eighteen days, only 3 cases being dated outside this limit. Chart III shows the combined groups.

Only 7 circles, or 7.3 per cent of the entire number, fall outside the eighteen days referred to above.

Chart IV is a combination of Charts III in Parts I and II of this study.

It represents the data presented on the two charts from the 110 unmarried and the 76 married women, with the addition of 14 cases not included in the remainder of the study, thus bringing the total cases considered up to two hundred. Of the 14 cases added, 4 were married and 10 unmarried. The white cir-

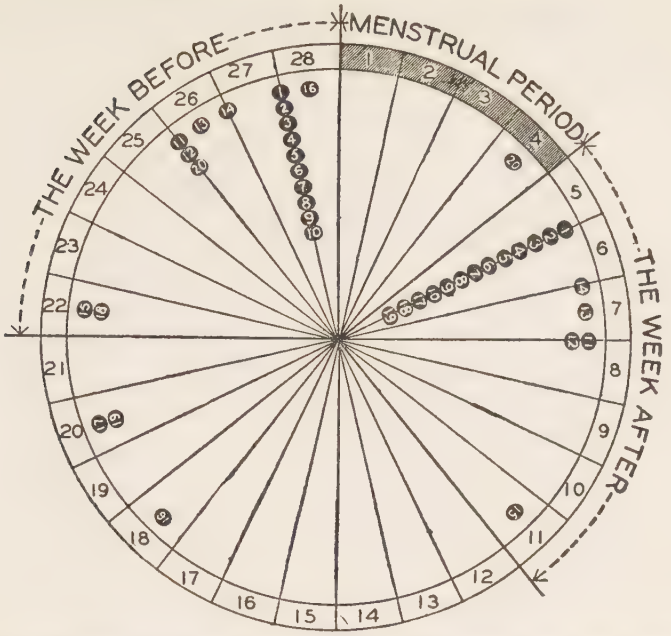


CHART II.—FREQUENCY OF SEX DESIRE. TWENTY CASES WITH TWO PERIODS OF DESIRE MONTHLY.

cles represent the 126 cases with one period of desire and the black circles the 74 cases with two periods. Thus there are 274 circles on the chart. Only 8 of the 126 white circles fall within the period from the seventh day after menstruation to the seventh day before. Twenty-one of the black circles representing one of the two periods of desire in the 74 cases fall within the same limits. In no case do two periods of desire for the same individual fall within this limit. About 60 per cent of the circles are found within the period of two days before to two days after menstruation; 274 circles, or 5 per cent, are in the week preceding, and 86, or 31 per cent, are in the week following the period.

The practical coincidence in women of the period of maximum desire with the period of maximum fertility is generally accepted. During the last ten or twelve years, there has been a good deal of work done on the most probable time for the occur-

○ CASES WITH ONE PERIOD MONTHLY
● CASES WITH TWO PERIODS MONTHLY

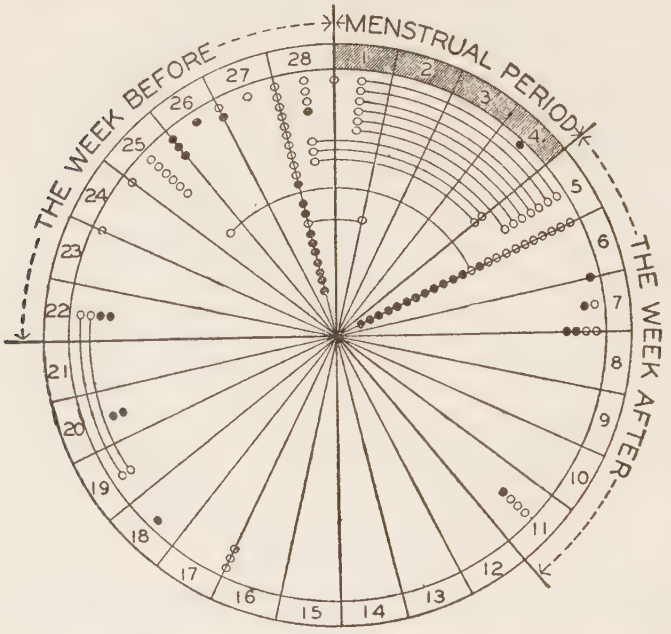


CHART III.—FREQUENCY OF SEX DESIRE. SEVENTY-SIX CASES.

rence of conception. The subject has been approached from different directions, such as the studies of pregnancies resulting from isolated coitus by Siegel, Zangemeister, and others; ovulation in its relation to menstruation has been studied in abdominal operations by several surgeons such as Schroeder, Ruge and Fraenkel. Other investigators are at work on the same subject from other points of approach, notably, Frank, Papanicolaou and Jessie King.

I have been permitted to examine a collection of data on this subject prepared by Dr. Robert L. Dickinson. From this it would appear that while pregnancy may occur at any part of the menstrual cycle, it is most likely to occur in the week following the menstrual period. This coincides with the period of desire of *second* greatest frequency shown in Chart IV. Furthermore, the studies quoted above seem to show that in our group of

200 cases, the time of highest frequency of sex desire coincides with the period of least likelihood of conception.

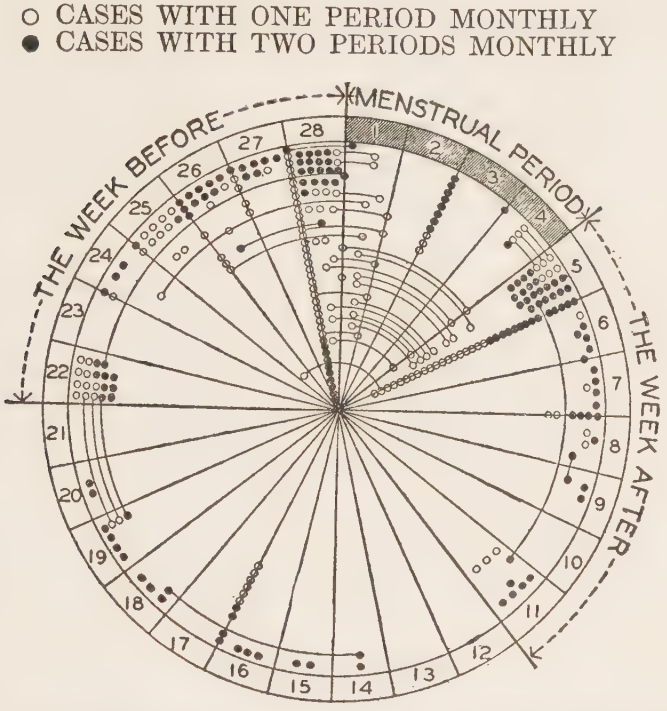


CHART IV.—PERIODICITY OF SEX DESIRE. 200 CASES. COMBINED CHART—110 UNMARRIED AND 76 MARRIED WOMEN—WITH THE ADDITION OF 14 CASES, 4 MARRIED AND 10 UNMARRIED NOT INCLUDED IN THE REMAINDER OF THE STUDY.

CORRELATIONS AND COMPARISONS WITH THE UNMARRIED WOMEN'S GROUP

As in the preceding chapter, certain correlations have been made to discover in what ways, if any, this group of women who observe periodicity of desire differ from the total group. However the same correlations have not all been made, inasmuch as the material available was not identical. For the sake of comparison, they have been made wherever possible.[1]

[1] In these correlations the subgroups into which the 126 cases of regular periodicity might be broken up give too small numbers to be treated statistically.

1. *Age.*—The average of the total group of married women is 38.3 years. That of the group recognizing periodicity is 36.5 years. The difference is too small to be significant as was the case with the unmarried women where the figures were 37.4 years and 36.8 years respectively.

2. *First Remembrance of Sex Feelings.*—The questionnaires for married and unmarried women were not identical. For the latter the questions were grouped topically. Those relating to sex feeling began as follows:

A. *Sex Feeling.* Section III.

1. (a) Do you recall having had any sex feelings or impulses during childhood (up to beginning of menstruation)? Spontaneous (physiologic) excitation of organs; pleasure in handling organs; desire for sex excitement; sex daydreams; curiosity about sex affairs of parents or other adults; strong attraction for boys and men; any other?

The questionnaire for married women was divided into age periods. Under Section B, Childhood to Fourteen Years, question 8 reads:

8. Do you recall having had any sex feelings or impulses during childhood? (Up to about 14; pleasure in handling organs; excitation of organs; desire for sex excitement; sex daydreams; curiosity about sex affairs of parents or other adults; strong attraction to boys or men.)

There is a difference, it will be observed, in the time limit as menstruation does not occur in all cases at 14.

We find when we compare the numbers in the two groups of 1000 each of married and unmarried women, that the number recalling sex feeling in childhood is almost identical, being 461 for the married and 463 for the unmarried.

Comparing the total group of married with the 126 who observe regular periodicity of desire in respect to sex feeling in childhood, we find 461 or 48.1 per cent (41 of the 1,000 failing to answer this question) among the former and 99 or 78.6 per cent among

the latter group. This difference of 30 per cent is certainly significant and corroborates the findings in the case of the unmarried. It seems to indicate that where sex feeling as a child was sufficiently strong to be remembered, there is greater likelihood of periodicity of sex desire strong enough to come into consciousness.

3. *Sex Problems.*—In the questionnaire for married women there were no questions which definitely asked for the statement of sex problems, and although some qualitative material is presented by those answering other questions, it does not lend itself to statistical treatment.

4. *Education.*—The group of unmarried women were all college graduates. In the group of married women 68.1 per cent were college women.

In the group of 126 recognizing periodicity there were 82 women or 65 per cent who were college graduates. The difference of 4 per cent is not significant.

5. *Sex Experiences.*—In the comparison of the groups of married and unmarried as to sex experience, we have taken into account in the case of the married only those which preceded marriage. We find that while 65.9 per cent of the total group of the unmarried and 85.3 per cent of the special group admit sex gratification of some sort, among the married 48.6 per cent of the total group and 82.5 per cent of the special group make the admission. As to the significant difference between the two total groups, it should be borne in mind that the average age of the unmarried group is 37.4 years, while the average age at marriage of the married group is 25.7 years.

In the two groups which recognize periodicity, the percentages differ only by 2.8, which is not significant.

Table VI presents the data concerning auto- and heteroerotic practices of the married women previous to marriage.

An examination of this table shows a significantly higher percentage in the group recognizing definite periodicity, both of those who admit masturbation and sex intercourse before marriage over those in the total group. This comparison does not

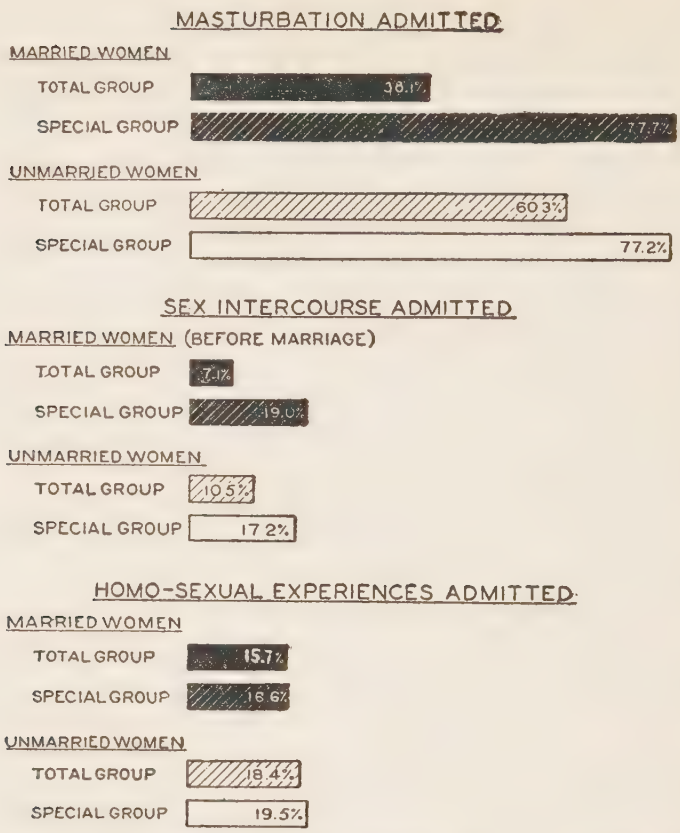


CHART V.—COMPARISON OF SEX PRACTICES BETWEEN TOTAL AND SPECIAL GROUPS OF MARRIED AND UNMARRIED WOMEN.

hold with reference to homosexual practices. The percentages in this case differ by a negligible amount (15.7 per cent as against 16.6 per cent).

Taking the recognition of periodicity of desire as the sole determining factor, it is apparently of importance as a factor in masturbation, particularly in later life and in leading to sex intercourse before marriage.

In Table VII the special group is broken up into subgroups too small in numbers to be really significant, but it is interesting to note that the per cent is considerably smaller in this group

TABLE VI

AUTO- AND HETEROEROTIC PRACTICES PREVIOUS TO MARRIAGE

Description of group	Masturbation				Homosexual expression				Sex intercourse			
	Total group 1000		Special group 126		Total group 1000		Special group 126		Total group 1000		Special group 126	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Special sex experience unanswered	49	4.9	.....	.....	34	3.4	8	6.5	67	6.7	33	26.00
Special sex experience denied....	570	57.0	28	22.3	809	80.9	97	76.9	862	86.2	69	55.00
Special sex experience admitted..	381	38.1	98	77.7	157	15.7	21	16.6	71	7.1	24	19.00
Totals.....	1000	100.0	126	100.0	1000	100.0	126	100.0	1000	100.0	126	100.00

In this table all percentages are based on the total number in each group.

TABLE VII

DISTRIBUTION OF CASES SHOWING ONE AND MORE THAN ONE TYPE OF SEX GRATIFICATION

	Masturbation Number of cases		Homosexual expression Number of cases		Sex intercourse Number of cases		Totals			
							Total group		Special group	
	Total group	Special group	Total group	Special group	Total group	Special group	No.	%	No.	%
One type only of sex gratification	273	65	83	1	20	5	376	77.3	71	68.2
admitted..... 95{59	27{13	61{59	14	38{36	13	97	20.0	27	26.0
Two types admitted..... 36	14	2		2					
Three types admitted.....	13	6	13	6	13	6	13	2.7	6	5.8
Totals.....	381	98	157	21	71	24	486	100.0	104	100.0

for those having one experience and higher for those with two or three experiences.

Chart V presents a graphic comparison of the percentages of those admitting the various sex practices in the total group of married and unmarried women, and in the special groups of those recognizing regular periodicity.

In spite of the fact that the group recognizing regular periodicity is twice as large among the unmarried women, it is interesting to note that there is a negligible difference of percentages between the married and unmarried who indulge in sex practices, namely, masturbation 77.7 per cent and 77.2 per cent; sex intercourse 19 per cent and 17.2 per cent; homosexual experiences 16.6 and 19.5 respectively. The striking thing in this chart is the ocular presentation of the slight difference in percentages of homosexual experience in the total and special groups of both married and unmarried women.

6. *Health.*—In the preceding chapter, Table XIV, health correlated with recognition of periodicity of sex desire of unmarried college women shows that there is no significant difference between the total group and the group recognizing periodicity in the percentages of those whose health was good or excellent at the time of reporting.

Table VIII of the study of married women compares the health of the entire group before marriage[1] with that of the group of 126 recognizing regular periodicity.

Here it will be observed there is a difference of 11.4 per cent between the groups. Taking into account the size of the two groups, this is large enough to warrant the statement that the special group had significantly poorer health before marriage than the group as a whole.

It is fair to say, however, that the chances are greater in the case of the married women's group for misconceptions as to the time element, i.e., before or after marriage involved in the question of periodicity.

[1] We use "health before marriage" instead of "health at time of reporting" because the questions as to periodicity occur in the section of the questionnaire devoted to experiences before marriage.

7. *Nervous Breakdowns.*—No definite question was asked in the married women's questionnaire on this particular point. In describing health before marriage, only 22 women cite nervous disorders. Where the definite question was asked of the unmarried, 301 women in the total group answered affirmatively as to nervous breakdowns or "near" breakdowns.

TABLE VIII

HEALTH BEFORE MARRIAGE CORRELATED WITH RECOGNITION OF DEFINITE PERIODICITY OF DESIRE

	Special Group (126)		Total Group (1000)	
	No.	%	No.	%
Poor, very poor and fair.....	47	37.3	259	25.9
Good and excellent.....	79	62.7	741	74.1
Total.....	126	100.0	1000	100.0

Again we call attention in this connection to the fact that there was little difference in average age of the two groups at time of replying,—married women 38.3; unmarried 37.4, while the average age at marriage was 25.7 years.

8. *Pleasurableness of Initial Marriage Relationship.*—In a previous chapter we discussed the relationship of happiness of married life and the pleasurableness of the marital relationship to the women. It was shown, for example, that in the group in which the initial relationship was pleasurable, there was a significantly higher percentage of happiness up to the time of reporting. In the present study we have examined the data to see if there is any relationship between the recognition of definite periodicity of desire before marriage and initial pleasurable experience in the marital relation.

A group of only 126 who recall definite periodicity is a small one on which to base a mathematic comparison, but we give the results as at least showing a trend.

Out of our total 1,000, there were 655 out, or 65.5 per cent

whose initial experience was pleasurable.[1] Of the special group, 88 or 69.8 per cent reported pleasurable. The difference is 4.3 per cent. This is too small in itself to be significant. It may be the result of chance but it is an interesting possibility that there is a greater chance for pleasurable initial marital relations in the group which recognizes definite periodicity.

If, however, we turn to the answers given to the question of the happiness of married life up to the time of report,[2] we find that while 872 of the entire group, 88.2 per cent of those replying to the question, state that their married life has been happy, 107, or 86.2 per cent of our special group report enduring happiness.[3] That is, there is a lower rate of happiness in the 126 recognizing regular periodicity, though the difference is too small for definite conclusions.

Examining the reasons given in the 16 cases where marriage was wholly or partially unsatisfactory, we find that in only 2 cases was it for reasons entirely apart from marital relations. In one instance the husband was an habitual drunkard, in the other he failed to support the family.

Among the reasons given in the 14 other cases, is one case where the husband is unable to satisfy his wife sexually (he is twenty-three years older). One husband is impotent; fear of pregnancy is cited in one case; husband "unable to perform the sex act properly," is given in one instance. In 3 cases the husband's demands are said to be excessive. One of the cases where the husband's moral outlook was changed in France during the World War belongs to this group, and in one instance the woman confesses that her own jealousy of her husband's attentions to other women makes her unhappy.

Conclusion

It will be noted in this particular study that in a number of important correlations the data from the married women's questionnaire corroborates that obtained from the unmarried.

[1] See Chapter IV, Table VII, p. 72.
[2] See Chapter III, p. 38.
[3] Two of this group did not answer this question and one replied "neutral."

Two questions at least are raised which can only be answered by the work of competent investigators.

First: Why should there be a relationship between periodicity of sex desire and both masturbation and sexual intercourse, and none between periodicity of desire and homosexual expression? And second: Is there any explanation for sex desire showing a maximum around the menstrual period, while from late studies ovulation seems to occur in what has perhaps unscientifically, been considered *the safe period?*

CHAPTER X

HOMOSEXUALITY

THE UNMARRIED COLLEGE WOMAN

I. *Introduction.*—A review of the literature of homosexuality reveals the fact that much less has been written about the phenomenon among women than among men. The reason is not far to seek.

More than a quarter of a century ago Havelock Ellis, commenting on the small amount of attention given to women in studies of this nature, writes: [1]

> For the most part, men seem to have been indifferent toward it (homosexuality among women); when it has been made a crime or a cause for divorce in men, it has usually been considered as no offense at all in women. Another reason is that it is less easy to detect in women; we are accustomed to a much greater familiarity and intimacy between women than between men, and we are less apt to suspect the existence of any abnormal passion. . . . We have also to bear in mind the extreme reticence of women regarding any abnormal or even normal manifestation of their sexual life. A woman may feel a high degree of sexual attraction for another woman without realizing that her affection is sexual.

Forel, writing on the same point, says: [2]

> Sexual inversion is not rare in women, but manifests itself less publicly than the corresponding masculine inversion. . . . In the normal woman, sentiments of exalted sympathy easily provoke the desire for kisses and caresses, and these caresses often cause in women a certain amount of vague sensual pleasure. When this pleasure leads to progressive tenderness and ends in mutual onanism, etc., it nevertheless remains intimately connected with psychic exaltations and sentiments

[1] Ellis, Havelock, *Studies in the Psychology of Sex. Sexual Inversion,* p. 121. Philadelphia, F. A. Davis Company, 1902.

[2] Forel, August, M.D., Ph.D., LL.D., Zurich, Switzerland. *The Sexual Question,* p. 251. English adaptation from the second Germanic edition, by C. F. Marshal, M.D., F.R.C.S. New York, Rebman Company.

of sympathy, from which it cannot be separated as in man. . . . It is, therefore, much more difficult in woman than in man to distinguish in particular cases between the hereditary disposition to inversion, and sapphism acquired by seduction or habit.

Krafft-Ebing comments to the same effect: [1]

That homosexuality is generally recognized as socially more dangerous among men than among women is reflected in the fact that, while practically every civilized country has laws penalizing these practices among men, Austria is the only European country in which sexual intimacy between women is a penal offense.[2]

So far as we have been able to discover, no state in the Union has such a law, but in many states and cities, as in New York, an older woman seducing a girl under sixteen could be prosecuted under ordinances which prohibit in various forms the "impairing the morals of a minor."

Homosexual intimacy among women is probably as old as humankind—indeed, it goes further back, at least to the common ancestor of man and apes, for among other studies of animal behavior it has been observed by Hamilton in baboons and monkeys.[3]

In history it goes back to earliest recorded times—at least 600 years B.C. Sappho, on her island of Lesbos, among the women who flocked there, gave her name and that of her island to the phenomenon, and for 2,500 years excessive intimacy among women has been called Sapphic or Lesbian love.

It belongs to no special country, culture or climate. Anthropologists have observed it among most of the primitive peoples.

Some students claim that homosexuality is more prevalent

[1] Krafft-Ebing, R. v., M.D., *Psychopathia-Sexualis,* pp. 395-396. Only authorized English adaptation of the German edition, by F. J. Rebman. New York, Medical Art Agency.

[2] Steckel, William, M.D., *The Homosexual Neurosis.* Authorized translation by James S. Van Teslaar, M.D., p. 299. Boston, Richard G. Badger. The Gorham Press, 1922.

[3] Hamilton, G. V., M.D., *A Study of Sexual Tendencies in Monkeys and Baboons.* Journal of Human Behavior, September and October, 1914, vol. 4, No. 5, pp. 295–318.

among the Ario-Germanic races, while very rare among Semitic peoples. It is doubtful, however, if sufficiently careful and extensive comparative studies have been made to justify this statement.

Indeed, no writer has been able to give more than a guess as to its prevalence for either sex in any particular group in any particular country at any particular time. It is believed by some students that the cultural advance of a race brings an increase in homosexuality.

Hirschfeld sent out a questionnaire on sex life to men students in Germany. He states that in the answers received 0.8 per cent to 2.2 per cent reported homosexual feelings, and 2.5 per cent to 4 per cent bisexual feelings.[1]

A social scientific organization in Holland is reported to have sent out questionnaires to factory workers; no figures are available on this study. The police department of Berlin reports 120 resorts in that city for men addicted to homosexual practices. Such resorts also exist in other large cities in Germany. *Freundschaft,* a German publication treating of homosexual subjects, is said to have a circulation of 20,000 in the group which frequents these resorts. Houses of the type referred to are reported to exist also in other cities.

We have discovered only one statistical study of the sex life of women in which any material on the extent of homosexuality is presented. It is that of Schbankov and Iakowenko, reported by Weissenberg in 1924.[2] It was prepared under the auspices of the Pirogow Medical Association of Moscow in 1907. This study is based on a questionnaire sent to the women students of the University of Moscow. Unfortunately, a large part of the material was destroyed after its confiscation by the Russian government. Schbankov succeeded in saving 324 filled-out questionnaires. This represents about 13 per cent of the number of women students in the university in 1907. It is on these 324

[1] Hirschfeld, Magnus, *Das Ergebnis der Statistischen Untersuchungen über den Prozentsatz der Homosexuellen.* Berlin, 1904.

[2] Weissenberg, Dr. S. Elizabethgrad (Ukraine), *Das Geschlechtsleben der Russischen Studentinnen.* Zeitschrift für Sexualwissenschaften. B. XI. April, 1924, Part I.

questionnaires that his report of 1922 is based.[1] We shall refer to his results later on in this study.

In the past, attention has been chiefly centered on the etiology of homosexuality rather than on its prevalence, and explanations have been practically the same for both men and women.

Constitutional or inborn abnormalities, either anatomical or physiological, leading to a preference for one's own sex, on the one hand, or homosexual practices resulting from circumstances such as a lack of the opposite sex, as in armies and prisons, were the common explanations of the earlier writers. Examples of women homosexuals so far reported in literature are apt to be of the extreme type.

Forel describes a number of cases of what he considers genuine inversion. He says of them:

> The pure female invert feels like a man. The idea of coitus with men is repugnant to her. She apes the habits, manners, and clothes of men. Female inverts have been known to wear men's uniforms and perform military service for years, and even behave as heroes, their sex sometimes only being discovered after their death. For example: a female invert, dressed as a young man, succeeded in winning the love of a normal girl and was formally betrothed to her. Soon afterward the woman was unmasked, arrested, and sent to an asylum, where she was made to put on women's clothes. But the young girl who had been deceived continued to be amorous and visited her "lover," who embraced her before everyone. . . . I took the young girl aside and expressed my astonishment at seeing her continue to have any regard for the sham "young man" who had deceived her. Her reply was characteristic of a woman: "Ah! you see, doctor, I love him, and I cannot help it!" . . . This is how it happens that a normal woman, systematically seduced by an invert, may become madly in love with her and commit sexual excesses with her for years, without being herself essentially pathological. The case only becomes really pathological when it is definitely fixed by long habit; a thing which easily occurs in woman owing to the constant and monogamous nature of her love.

The case of a Hungarian countess who had a most astonishing career as a man under the name of Count Sandor is quoted by a number of writers including Ellis.

Krafft–Ebing also includes this case in his description of

[1] *Wratchebnoje Delo*, 1922, Nos. 10-12. S 225.

twenty-five women, most of them his own patients, whom he classifies under the titles "homosexuality," "pure homosexuality," "tardy homosexuality," "viraginity," "psychosexual hermaphrodism," and "gynandrism."

Of this group eleven were married, ranging in age from eighteen to sixty. Fourteen were unmarried, varying in age from twenty-two to thirty-eight.[1]

More recently, Dr. J. Allen Gilbert gives a very detailed report on a homosexual woman doctor who now lives with another woman; their relation is socially registered as that of man and wife.

> There is no evidence of an inherited predisposition. A large clitoris and absence of glandular tissue on the upper part of her breasts are the only visible physical signs of hermaphroditism.[2]

In my own experience I have observed only one case in which there was morphological abnormality. This woman enjoyed both homo- and heterosexual experiences.[3]

Dr. L. Pierce Clark describes differences between men and women homosexuals as to "conduct of life" as follows:

> The homosexual woman leads an active, energetic life—is enterprising, aggressive, adventurous, and at times brutal and regardless. In general she is cold-blooded. The homosexual man is quiet and reserved and takes pleasure in any quiet occupation.

He makes a further observation which is interesting if true:

> Homosexual women suffer but little at the climacteric, nor do they develop the "old maid" type as frequently as normal women. We have to assume the participation of the internal secretions to explain all these phenomena; the homosexual man having those which belong normally to women, and *vice versa*.[4]

[1] Krafft-Ebing, R. v., Vienna, *Psychopathia-Sexualis.* Neue Bearbeitung von Dr. Albert Moll, Berlin. 16–17 edition. Verlag Enke, Stuttgart, 1924.

[2] Gilbert, J. Allen, M.D., "Homosexuality and Its Treatment," *Journal of Nervous and Mental Diseases,* vol. 52, p. 296. Portland, Oregon, 1920.

[3] K. B. D.

[4] Clark, L. Pierce, M.D., New York City, *A Critical Digest of Some of the Newer Work Upon Homosexuality in Man and Woman.* Reprinted from *State Hospital Bulletin* for November, 1914. Utica, N. Y., State Hospital Press, 1914.

The Belgian writer Fere [1] and a group including Magnan,[2] Aschaffenburg,[3] Raecke,[4] Kraepelin,[5] Heilbronner,[6] Stier [7] and Weil [8] maintain that homosexuality is an acquired psychopathic degeneration.

Some trace the homosexual inversion to a bisexual inheritance, thus interpreting the inversion as a result of disturbance in development. One of the best known writers on this subject, Krafft-Ebing[9] holds this view.

Hirschfeld [10] and Carpenter [11] believe in an intermediate sex.

Otto Weininger [12] holds that in all cases of inversion "there is invariably an anatomical approximation to the opposite sex. . . . There is little reason for saying that sexual inversion is acquired, and there is just as little for regarding it as inherited. . . . None the less, it is not generally recognized that sexual inverts may be otherwise perfectly healthy, and with regard to other matters quite normal."

Brill believes the contrary—that "there is no relation between homosexuality and somatic hermaphroditism." [13] He divides homosexuals into three classes:

[1] Fere, C., *Note sur une anomalie de l'instinct sexuel.* Ergophilie Belge. Med., 1905.

[2] Magnan, Valentin, *Des Anomalies, des aberrations et des perversions sexuelles.* Paris, 1895.

[3] Aschaffenburg, Gustav, "Die Strafrechtliche Behandling der Homosexualitaet." *Allg. Zeitschrift für Psych.,* vol. 64, heft 4.

[4] Raecke, Julius, "Zur psychiatrischen Beurteilung sexueller Delikte." *Archiv für Psychiatrie,* vol. 49, 1912, p. 25.

[5] Kraepelin, Emil, *Lehrbuch für Psychiatrie,* vol. IV, Leipzig, 1915.

[6] Heilbronner, Karl, *Beitrag zur klinischen und forensischen Beurteilung gewisser sexueller Perversitäten.*

[7] Stier, Ewald, "Zur Aetiologie des kontraeren Sexualgefühls." *Monatscrift für Psychologie und Neurologie,* vol. 32, 1912.

[8] Weil, Kurt, "Sprechen anatomische Grundlagen für das Angeborensein der Homosexualitaet." *Archiv für Frauenkrankheiten,* 1924, H. 1.

[9] Krafft-Ebing, R. v., "Zur Erklaerung der Kontraeren Sexualempfindung." *Jahrbuecher der Psychiatrie und Nervenheilkunde,* vol. XIII.

[10] Hirschfeld, Magnus, Die objektive Diagnose der Homosexualitaet, *Jahrbuch für sex. Zwischenstufen,* 1899, vol. I.

[11] Carpenter, Edward, *The Intermediate Sex.* New York, Mitchell Kennerley, 1912.

[12] Weininger, Otto, *Sex and Character.* Authorized translation from the sixth German edition, pp. 45–46. New York, G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1903.

[13] Brill, A. A., M.D., *The Conception of Homosexuality.* New York City, Journal A. M. A., vol. 61, pp. 335-339. Aug. 2, 1913.

1. Absolute inverts whose sexual object must always be of the same sex.

2. Amphigenous inverts (psychosexual hermaphrodites), in whom the inversion lacks the character of exclusiveness, and hence their sexual object may belong to either sex.

3. Occasional inverts who resort to homosexuality under certain external conditions, especially in case the normal sexual object is inaccessible.

The Freudian explanation of homosexuality is the one which seems to find the greatest support among our present-day psychiatrists. It is well and simply summarized by Dr. C. Stanford Read of London as follows:

> The sexual instinct is not a new motive force which appears in a full-fledged form at puberty, but a synthetic product formed from the combination of a number of partial impulses which were present throughout childhood. During the first period the child's sexuality is believed to center in certain areas of its own body, and later it is the whole unified body which is the source of its regard. This latter is the stage of narcissism or self-love, which plays a very important part in the development of our later life. The tendency at this period, then, is for the child to take itself as its object-love, and to love itself in others who have similar organs. Subsequently the love passes over to the opposite sex. . . . The psychoanalytic theory is that homosexuals are only more strongly fixed than other people in this narcissistic stage, organs like their own being always the essential element for their love. . . . The homosexual component has therefore its germ in all mankind, and finds its outlet normally in a sublimated form in friendships and companionships. Those, however, who are too prematurely fixed or arrested in the evolution of their sexual dispositions are exposed to the danger that a flood of libido which finds no outlet may, through failure in social life, strong outbursts of sexual needs, or through disappointment in the opposite sex, regress to this earlier form of gratification.[1]

As has been mentioned, homosexual practices have always been observed as common where groups of men are isolated from women for considerable periods of time, notably in the army during war time, in prisons, and in mining camps, as well as in boys' schools and certain types of men's colleges.

[1] Read, C. Stanford, M.D., physician to Fisherton House, Salisbury, "Homosexuality." *Journal of Mental Science,* vol. 67, p. 9. London, 1921.

They are also common in boarding-schools and colleges exclusively for girls and women and in penal institutions of all types. The homosexual attractions which occur in prisons, reformatories, and custodial homes for girls and women present one of the most difficult problems connected with the discipline of these institutions. As in a majority of cases, the women inmates have been accustomed to heterosexual expression, it seems quite clear that these are substitutes for more normal relationships. One of the most frequent reasons given for the segregation of negro girls and women in these institutions is that the racial difference appears to increase this homosexual attraction.

The deans and administrative officers of women's colleges can testify as to the very serious problems due to the uncontrolled "crushes" which arise from time to time.

These problems are not restricted to our own country.

Ellis in an appendix to his *Sexual Inversion* describes the phenomena as observed in Italian schools, where the friendships are called "flames" (*fiamma*), and in English schools, where they are dubbed "raves."

My own observation in both educational and penological institutions leads me to believe that the phenomena described in this study are much more widespread than is generally suspected, or than most administrators are willing to admit.[1]

The material presented here will give some idea of the extent of the problem among a special group of women.

In the present study, as in our previous ones, we shall make no attempt at interpretation. The fact that we do not know the women personally makes it impossible to use the material as a clinician can use his cases. No questions were asked concerning possible physiological or anatomical deviations. Aside from the types which are connected with such deviations, many cases could be selected which would illustrate any one of the theories advanced by the various writers on homosexuality we have quoted.

In advance of further studies of this type it would be a mis-

[1] K. B. D.

take to infer from our data that our results would apply to other groups of women on other social or educational levels, or to the woman population in general.

II. *Numbers involved: character of relationship: period and duration: mental attitude toward and effect of relationship.*— The group of women from whose answers to our questionnaire on the sex life of normal women the material for this study has been taken, is the same as that used in the studies presented in the previous chapters. To the 1,000 cases heretofore used we have added, however, 200 cases later received.

Comments on Tables I to IX

The questions asked with reference to relations with other women, were as follows:

Emotional Experiences with Other Women

1. (a) Have you at any time experienced intense emotional relations with any other girl or woman?
   (b) Prior to college?
   (c) During college days?
   (d) Since leaving college?
   (e) With one? (f) With more than one?
2. (a) Was the experience associated with sex in your own mind at the time? (b) Later?
   (c) Was the experience without physical expressions other than kissing or ordinary endearments of close friendship?
   (d) Did the experience include such physical expression as bodily exposure, mutual handling of organs, mutual masturbation, or other intimate contacts?
3. (a) Have you continued such relationships up to the present time?
   (b) What influence, if any, has this had in your remaining single?
   (c) If such a relationship has been discontinued, why?
4. (a) What is your mental attitude toward such a relationship—one of approval, shame?
   (b) Has it proved helpful, stimulating, injurious to health?
   (c) Any other effect?

Table I shows us that 605 women reply that they have experienced intense emotional relations with other women.

TABLE I

HAVE YOU AT ANY TIME EXPERIENCED INTENSE EMOTIONAL RELATIONS WITH OTHER WOMEN?

	No.	Percentage of total group (1200)	Percentage of total answering (1181)
Yes	605	50.4	51.2
No	576	48.0	48.8
Unanswered	19	1.6	.....
Total	1200	100.00	100.00

In the chapter on "Certain Auto-Erotic Practices" and in our chapters on "Periodicity of Sex Desire," we have stated that the number of homosexual unmarried college women in our group of 1,000 was 184. After considerable consultation and discussion we decided to add to the group of overt homosexuals those who replied "yes" to the question 2(c), "Was the experience without physical expression other than kissing or ordinary endearments of close friendship?" but who also answered "yes" to question 2(a): "Was the experience associated with sex in your own mind at the time?" Naturally, those answering 2(d) affirmatively are classed as homosexuals. Table II is the result for the present group 1,200.

TABLE II

1. Intense emotional relations with women unassociated with consciousness of a sex experience and unaccompanied by physical expression other than hugging and kissing		293
2 (*a*). Intense relationships accompanied by mutual masturbation, contact of genital organs, or other physical expressions recognized as sexual in character	234	
2 (*b*). Intense relations recognized at the time as sexual in character, but without expression other than hugging and kissing	78	312
Total		605

For convenience, in what follows we refer to the 293 women included in Table II, 1, as group H I. We call the 312 included in Table II, 2, group H II. This latter group is subdivided into H II(a) containing the 234 women with overt experiences, and the H II(b) group of 78 without overt experience but recognizing the relationship as associated with sex.

From these tables it will be noted that over half of the women who answered our questionnaire at some time or other experienced intense emotional relations with other women, and that over a quarter admit that the relationship was carried to the point of overt homosexual expression.

The only study we have with which to compare our data as to prevalence is the report of Dr. Schbankow, to which reference has already been made, in which is presented the result of the analysis of the replies to 324 questionnaires given by women students in a Russian university.

Among his findings it was stated that 169, or 52.1 per cent, of these women admitted intense emotional relations with other women. This corresponds very closely to our 50.4 per cent or 605 of our 1,200 cases. The Russian group, however, breaks up differently from ours. Among the Moscow students only 16.3 per cent admitted overt homosexual practices, while in 35.8 per cent of the cases the experiences did not pass conventional bounds, as against 26 per cent and 24.4 per cent, respectively, of our group. It must be noted, however, that the Moscow group were all women still in college, while in our group the range of age is great and none had been out of college less than five years.

Since we do not know the ages of the Moscow students and have no means of knowing whether their answers cover only college years or experiences from puberty as well, it is perhaps fairer to compare the Moscow results with our groups after omitting those cases where experiences began *after* leaving college. This gives us as the total group experiencing intense emotional relations, 478 cases, or 38.2 per cent, of the entire group broken up as between 252 cases, or 21 per cent, when the experience was only that of intense feeling, and 226 cases, or 17.2 per cent, when there were overt practices.

If this is a just comparison, it is interesting to note the insignificant differences in the percentages of the overt cases, while in the Moscow group the percentage of those reporting intense emotional relations only is enough higher (14.8 per cent) to be mathematically significant.

Tables III and IV are of great interest.

TABLE III

PERIOD AT WHICH THESE EXPERIENCES OCCURRED

Period	H. I		H. II		Totals	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
A. Begun						
Before college	147	50.1	116	37.2	263	43.5
During college	105	35.8	110	35.3	215	35.5
After college	41	14.1	86	27.5	127	21.0
Total	293	100.0	312	100.0	605	100.0
B. Period such relations were carried on						
Before college only	32	10.9	14	4.5	46	7.6
During college only	68	23.2	34	10.8	102	16.8
After college only	41	13.9	86	27.5	127	21.0
Before and during college	44	15.0	15	4.8	59	9.7
Before and after college	1	.0+	13	4.1	14	2.3
During and after college	37	12.6	76	24.4	113	18.6
Before, during, and after college	70	23.8	74	23.7	144	23.8
Total	293	99.4	312	99.8	605	99.8
C. Total carrying on such relations		*% of 293*		*% of 312*		*% of 605*
Before college	147	50.1	116	37.2	263	43.5
During college	219	74.7	199	63.7	418	69.0
After college	149	50.8	249	79.7	398	65.7

Section A of Table III shows that of the group whose intense emotional relations with other girls and women never passed into the overt homosexual stage, 50.1 per cent had already experienced these feelings before entering college. Sometimes it was adoration of an older woman—perhaps a teacher. Sometimes

TABLE IV

SEX PLAY,* PRIOR TO ADOLESCENCE, WITH OTHER GIRLS—MUTUAL HANDLING OF SEX ORGANS, PLAYING AT SEX INTERCOURSE, ETC.

	No.	%
Indulged in these plays with other girls		
Dropped homosexual interests after adolescence	159	48.2
Passed into Group I	72	21.8
Passed into Group II	99	30.0
Total	330	100.0

INDULGED IN HOMOSEXUAL PLAY PRIOR TO ADOLESCENCE

	No.	%
H. I. (293 cases)	72	24.5
H. II. (312 cases)	99	31.7
Others (595 cases)	159	26.6
Total (1200 cases)	330	27.5

* Playing house, with father, mother, children, dolls, the doctor, nursing the baby, etc., is not included here. Nor is sex play with boys or with other children when sex of children is not mentioned.

Note.—This group is referred to hereafter as the H. II(c). group.

it was a real romance between two adolescent girls. Such situations frequently have been used in fiction. A most vivid account of such an experience may be found, for example, in one of Dostoyevsky's short stories called "Nyetochka Nezvanova."

Comparing the figures and percentages of Tables III and IV, we find that in the recollections of childhood play, 72 of the women in the H I group state that they took part in sex play with other girls prior to adolescence. This is certainly a minimum, as a considerable number in describing sex play say it was "with other children" and fail to discriminate as to sex.

Passing on to the adolescent, pre-college period, 147 women formed these intense attachments during this time. The number increases to 219 while in college, but drops afterward to approximately the same level as "before" college.

The case is quite different with the group of overt homosexuals. Ninety-nine, or nearly a third, of the 312 who form this group indulged in sex play with other girls in pre-adolescence. To these 99 were added only 17 individuals in the pre-college period.

From Section C of Table III we find that the percentage of the total H II group who had this type of relationship while in college is 11 per cent less than that of the H I group, or what might be called the regulation "college crush" type. The difference is large enough to be significant.

Still more striking is the situation in the after-college period. We find that in the H II group nearly 80 per cent of the women comprising it maintain overt relationships with the same or other women after college. As will be shown later, many of these connections had been broken before the time of reply to this questionnaire. Twenty-seven and a half per cent of the group never formed such friendships until after college.

Of the 330 who state that they indulged in sex play as defined in Table IV, 48.2 per cent, or nearly half, apparently lost all homosexual trends at or immediately after adolescence. A significantly higher per cent passed into the H II group than into the H I group.

In answer to question 1(e), 123 women in the H I group and 197 in the H II group replied that they had had only one such relationship.

The facts relating to the number of overt homosexual relationships are as follows:

	No.	%
With one woman only	197	63.1
With two women	56	17.9
With three women	12	3.8
With four women	2	.7
With five women	2	.7
With "several" women	43	13.8
Total	312	100.0

This point will be further discussed under Correlation Table 11.

It is not possible to present in tabulated form statistics of the duration of these relationships inasmuch as no question was asked as to this. A good many women, however, volunteer the information. In the group with overt experiences they have lasted in individual cases from a few months up to twelve or fourteen years or even longer.

TABLE V

HAVE YOU CONTINUED SUCH RELATIONSHIPS UP TO THE PRESENT TIME?

	H. I.		H. II.		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Relations continued	52	19.4	73	24.4	125	22.0
Relations changed to more normal	44	16.4	38	12.7	82	14.4
Relations discontinued	172	64.2	188	62.9	360	63.6
Total answers	268	100.0	299	100.0	567	100.0
Unanswered	25	.....	13	.....	38	.....
Total	293	.....	312	.....	605	.....

Question 3(a) as to the continuance of these intimate relationships is answered in Table V, which shows that at time of reply in 64 per cent of the H I and in 63 per cent of the H II groups, these intense friendships had been broken off. A higher percentage in the H II group were continuing their relationships at time of reply, and in a smaller percentage of cases than in the H I group the relationship had been changed to one more normal. The ages of the group continuing relationship is shown in Correlation Table 1.

Table VI gives the reasons for discontinuing the relationship.

Of the 360 women who have discontinued the relationship, 293 tell why. It is interesting to note that a much larger per cent of the H I group "outgrew it" or "came to a better understanding of human problems," while 35.9 per cent of the H II group, as against only 3.3 per cent of the H I group say that they came

TABLE VI

IF SUCH A RELATION HAS BEEN DISCONTINUED, WHY?

	H. I.		H. II.		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Outgrew it	38	30.9	16	9.4	54	18.4
Separation in space	27	22.0	40	23.5	67	22.9
Came to a better understanding of human problems	15	12.2	....	.....	15	5.1
Lost interest in it	10	8.1	16	9.4	26	8.9
Friend became interested elsewhere	9	7.3	9	5.3	18	6.2
Found relation injurious to health	5	4.1	4	2.3	9	3.1
Came to regard relation as abnormal, wrong, or disgusting	4	3.3	61	35.9	65	22.2
Death of friend	4	3.3	1	.6	5	1.7
We grew apart	3	2.4	2	1.2	5	1.7
Was disappointed in the friendship	2	1.6	....	.....	2	.7
Relation encroached on freedom	2	1.6	1	.6	3	1.0
Homosexual fixation now removed	1	.8	....	.....	1	.3
Became interested in men	1	.8	4	2.3	5	1.7
Found it weakening to character	1	.8	....	.....	1	.3
Too strenuous emotionally	....	.....	8	4.7	8	2.7
Stimulated sex desire for men	....	.....	1	.6	1	.3
Curiosity satisfied	....	.....	1	.6	1	.3
Was an accidental discovery	....	.....	2	1.2	2	.7
Opposition to friend's family	....	.....	2	1.2	2	.7
Realized the danger of it	....	.....	1	.6	1	.3
Resented older girl's allowing it	....	.....	1	.6	1	.3
Was the passive member of the connection	1	.8	....	.....	1	.3
Total answers	123	100.0	170	100.0	293	99.8
Unanswered	49	.....	18	.....	67	.....
Total	172	.....	188	.....	360	.....

to regard the relationship as abnormal, wrong, or disgusting. This is the reason given in by far the highest per cent of cases in the H II group. "Separation in space" comes next and is about the same for both groups.

The summaries of the answers to the various points in question 4 is shown in the three sections of Table VII. It will be noted that there is no significant difference in the attitude of the two groups which regards their relationships with shame or dis-

TABLE VII

(A) MENTAL ATTITUDE TOWARD HOMOSEXUAL RELATIONSHIPS

Attitude	H. I.		H. II.	
	No.	%	No.	%
Disapproval; shame	104		125	
Unnatural; abnormal; perversion	4—108	45.6	12—137	48.4
Approval	92		61	
Natural; legitimate	7— 99	41.8	15— 76	26.8
Neither approval nor disapproval	14		27	
Mixed approval and disapproval	5		13	
No shame (modified)	3		16	
A substitute for heterosexual expression	1		2	
"I don't know;" indefinite; puzzled	7— 30	12.6	12— 70	24.8
Total answers	237	100.0	283	100.0
Unanswered	56	.....	29	.....
Total	293	.....	312	.....

(B) EFFECT OF HOMOSEXUAL RELATIONSHIPS

Helpful, stimulating	106	54.3	118	46.4
Injurious to health	30		50	
Helpful or stimulating, but injurious to health	2— 32	16.4	11— 61	24.0
No effect	52		70	
"I don't know"	5— 57	29.3	5— 75	29.6
Total answers	195	100.0	254	100.0
Unanswered	98	.....	58	.....
Total	293	.....	312	.....

(C) ANY OTHER EFFECTS OF HOMOSEXUAL RELATIONSHIP

Favorable effects on character	10		9	
Unfavorable effects on character	15		12	
Caused greater understanding of certain human problems	4		19	
Unfavorable effects on relations to men	2		9	
Increased sex desire			3	
Unclassified individual comments	20— 51	58.6	36— 88	72.1
No other effects	36	41.4	34	27.9
Total answers	87	100.0	122	100.0
Unanswered	206	.....	190	.....
Total	293	.....	312	.....

approval, while there is a high percentage difference between those who approve or consider it natural or legitimate. This feeling on the part of the H II group is probably a reflection of public opinion as to homosexuality, especially in view of the high per cent of those who have found the relationship helpful and stimulating. The members of the H I group would not be likely to be conscious of any social disapproval, yet the percentage difference of those who feel in the same way is hardly sufficiently higher to be certainly significant. There are about twice as many in the H II than in the H I group of those who are unwilling to make a definite pronouncement as to their attitude.

Under Section C of Table VII we find that 19 individuals in the two groups make statements as to the favorable effects on character of these relations. The answers of the 9 in group H II are typical of both groups. Summed up they are "inspiration; greater creative ability; contentment; sweeter temper; increased efficiency; self-reliance; knowledge of emotional values; broader viewpoint; developed self-control; learned to sublimate." These are obviously merely listing the helpful and stimulating influences.

The twelve in the H II group who report unfavorable effects say, "weakened self-control; decreased ability to make normal contacts (two cases); prevented friendships with other women; hardened the emotions; "made me morbid"; prevented concentration; "injured my conscience"; the surreptitious quality was harmful; weakened mentality; coarsening in effect.

The greater understanding alleged might be classed as favorable effect on character. It included greater sympathy; tolerance; ability to deal with people; appreciation of weaknesses of others; more patient with girls (teachers); less contemptuous toward violators of social conventions; greater insight.

The individual comments include: "Harmless, but doesn't get you anywhere"; "adds to the joy of life"; "it takes the place of a mate"; "the experience was so intense that the emotions aroused almost caused nausea"; "may satisfy a little my desire

for children"; "it helped over the bad effects of not marrying the man I loved" (family objections to the match); etc.

TABLE VIII

WHAT INFLUENCE, IF ANY, HAS YOUR HOMOSEXUAL RELATIONSHIPS HAD IN YOUR REMAINING SINGLE?

	H. I.		H. II.	
	No.	%	No.	%
It has had no influence	203	85.3	211	75.4
It has had an influence	13		28	
Possibly it has had an influence	22— 35	14.7	41— 69	24.6
Total answers	238	100.0	280	100.0
Unanswered	55	.....	32	.....
Total	293	.....	312	.....

The data presented in Table VIII will be discussed in connection with Correlation Table 12, which gives the reasons for failure to marry.

III. *Discussion of Correlation Tables.*—In Chapter VI we stated that at the time the study of auto-erotic practices was made we had received 1,183 answers to our questionnaire. Inasmuch as we were desirous of using as large a group of homosexuals as was obtainable we rounded out to 2,000 the entire group and made that number the basis of the study presented in this chapter.

The age range of the group studied is wide, running from two cases of precocious young women who entered college at 13, graduated at 17, and answered our questionnaire at 22, to one woman of 68.

Correlation Table 1 (A)[1] shows the ages of the H I and H II groups compared with the ages of the 594 individuals who admit no intense emotional experiences with other women. They are

[1] In all the correlation tables, unless otherwise specified, percentages are based on the total number answering the question.

CORRELATION TABLE 1

(A) HOMOSEXUAL EXPERIENCE AND AGE

Age period	H. I.		H. II.		Others		Totals	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Under 30	67	22.9	67	21.5	122	20.5	256	21.4
30 to 39	130	44.5	162	52.0	262	44.0	554	46.2
40 to 49	61	20.8	56	18.0	139	23.4	256	21.4
50 and over	34	11.6	26	8.3	71	11.9	131	10.9
Total answers	292	99.8	311	99.8	594	99.8	1197	99.9
Unanswered	1	.....	1	.....	1	.....	3	.....
Totals	293	.....	312	.....	595	.....	1200	.....
Youngest	22		22		22		22	
Oldest	66		65		68		68	
Median	44		43.5		45		45	
Mode	30		30		30		30	
Average	36.7		35.9		37.4		36.8	

(B) AGE OF THOSE CONTINUING EMOTIONAL RELATIONSHIP (COMPARE TABLE V)

	H. I.		H. II.	
	No.	%	No.	%
Under 30	10	19.2	20	27.4
30 to 39	29	55.8	39	53.4
40 to 49	9	17.3	11	15.1
50 and over	4	7.7	3	4.1
Total	52	100.0	73	100.0

presented in four age periods. Of those under thirty years, the percentages of H I, H II, "others"—*i.e.*, those without these experiences, differ so little among themselves or with the total group as to be insignificant. It is otherwise with the decade of the 30's. Here the difference of 8 per cent between the H II and "others" groups is certainly significant, as is also the differ-

ence of the H I and H II groups. In other words, a significantly larger percentage of overt homosexuals will be found in the 30's than the percentage of those in this age group without this experience.

In the age groups from 40 years up, we find a correspondingly smaller percentage of overt homosexuals than the percentage of the same age groups of the "others."

Referring back to Table V, we find that 52 of the H I group and 73 of the H II group or 125 individuals report the continuance of their emotional relationships up to the time of reply. This is 20.66 per cent of the 605 who make up the total group.

Section B of Correlation Table 1 shows the age group of these 125. It will be noted that more than half of both H I's and H II's fall within the third decade.

The numbers are too small to be anything but suggestive, but we call attention to the fact that under 30 years the H II group is 8.2 per cent higher than the H I group, while in the third decade the H I group is slightly higher. Comparing the percentages of those who continue the practices we are considering with the percentages in the total groups of those who have ever had these experiences as shown in Section A, we note that in the third decade the percentage of those who are continuing the practice is about the same as in the entire H II group; while in the H I group the percentage continuing is 11.3 per cent higher. Or, significantly more of the group with intense emotional relations were continuing such relations up to the time of reporting, while among the overt homosexuals the proportions remain nearly constant.

In Table 2, we correlate the two types of emotional experience with other women with the kind of institution at which undergraduate work was done.

The H I group represents the general conception of the "college crush." It has been stated frequently that these are less common in coeducational colleges or universities. Section A of Table 2 shows that, while a significantly smaller group in the coeducational institutions have this experience, it exists to

CORRELATION TABLE 2

(A) HOMOSEXUAL EXPERIENCES AND EDUCATION ON THE BASIS OF DISTRIBUTION WITHIN THE TYPE OF COLLEGE

Type of institution	H. I.		H. II.		Others		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Woman's college	225	27.7	232	28.5	356	43.8	813	100.0
Coeducational college or university	53	15.9	66	19.8	214	64.3	333	100.0
Percentage difference	.....	11.8	.....	8.7	.....	20.5	.....	.....

(B) HOMOSEXUAL EXPERIENCES AND EDUCATION ON THE BASIS OF DISTRIBUTION WITHIN THE GROUP

Type of institution	H. I.		H. II.		Others		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Woman's college	225	76.4	232	75.0	356	60.0	813	68.0
Coeducational college or university	53	18.0	66	21.3	214	36.0	333	27.9
Did undergraduate work at both	15	5.6	11	3.7	23	4.0	49	4.1
Total answers	293	100.0	309	100.0	593	100.0	1195	100.0
Unanswered	.....	.....	3	.....	2	.....	5	.....
Total	293	.....	312	.....	595	.....	1200	.....

a considerable extent. That there is a still larger per cent of the overt homosexuals is shown in the column H II, where nearly 20 per cent of those attending these institutions are to be found.

Section B of this table shows the distribution within the group of the entire number with H I and H II experiences, correlated with the type of institution attended.

It will be noted that a significantly smaller percentage (60) of those with neither experience attended women's colleges as compared with 76 per cent of the entire H I and 75 per cent

of the entire H II group. Here again the percentage differences are large enough to be significant. The two sections of the table bring out the same point by a different use of the figures.

The relation of homosexual experience to health is one of great importance. By reference to Table VII B, it will be noted that 16 per cent of the H I group and 24 per cent of the H II group reported that their relationships were injurious to health. Thus a significantly higher percentage of the overt homosexuals believed in the unfortunate physical effects of their experiences.

In the first section of the questionnaire devoted to general facts, several questions are asked relating to physical health. In Correlation Table 3 we have summarized the replies as to health at the time of reply. The results show that a slightly higher percentage of the H II group state that their health is good or excellent. The percentage differences between the various groups, however, is too small to be significant of anything.

CORRELATION TABLE 3

HOMOSEXUAL EXPERIENCE AND HEALTH

Health at time of replying	H. I.		H. II.		H. I. + H. II.		Others		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Poor	13	4.4	16	5.2	29	4.8	29	4.9	58	4.8
Fair	60	20.5	52	16.7	112	18.5	106	17.8	218	18.1
Good	124	42.3	131	42.1	255	42.3	195	32.8	450	37.6
Excellent	96	32.8	113	36.0	208	34.4	265	44.5	473	39.5
Total answers.	293	100.0	311	100.0	604	100.0	595	100.0	1199	100.0
Unanswered..	.....	.....	1	.....	1	.....	.....	.....	1	.....
Total	293	.....	312	.....	605	.....	595	.....	1200	.....

In comparing the figures in Table VII B with those in Correlation Table 3, it is also interesting to note the health at time of reporting of the 24.4 per cent of the H II group who were continuing homosexual relations at the time of reply. The present health of these 73 individuals is as follows:

Excellent,	27	56, or 76.7 per cent.
Good,	29	
Fair,	16	
Poor,	1	
Very poor, none.		

The percentage of good and excellent is not significantly different from that of the entire group.

CORRELATION TABLE 4

HOMOSEXUAL EXPERIENCES AND NERVOUS BREAKDOWNS

	H. I.		H. II.		Others		Totals	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
No breakdowns	189	64.9	189	61.3	432	72.9	810	68.1
Near breakdowns	42	14.3	44	14.2	56	9.4	142	11.9
Breakdowns	61	20.8	76	24.5	102	17.7	239	20.0
Total answered	292	100.0	309	100.0	590	100.0	1191	100.0
Unanswered	1	.....	3	.....	5	.....	9	.....
Total	293	.....	312	.....	595	.....	1200	.....

Correlation Table 4 also relates to health. It gives the numbers of those in the respective groups who have suffered from nervous breakdowns or near breakdowns. It will be noted that among those who have never experienced intense emotional relations with other women those who have never been nervously afflicted present a significantly lower percentage than the similar groups in either of the H I or H II columns.

It is impossible to speak with great definiteness of the time of these breakdowns in relation to homosexual experiences, inasmuch as the questionnaire merely asked "Have you ever had a nervous breakdown?" and failed to ask for the date. It is quite possible, therefore, that recovery from ill effects of nervous breakdowns may account for the fact that there is so little difference in the present health of the H II and "others" groups.

CORRELATION TABLE 5

HOMOSEXUAL EXPERIENCES AND HAPPINESS—"DO YOU CONSIDER YOUR LIFE AS A WHOLE AS HAPPY?"

	H. I.		H. II.		Others		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Happy	221	79.2	227	77.2	439	78.5	887	78.3
Fairly happy	32	11.5	28	9.5	58	10.4	118	10.4
Neutral	7	2.5	19	6.5	20	3.6	46	4.1
Unhappy	19	6.8	20	6.8	42	7.3	81	7.2
Total answered	279	100.0	294	100.0	559	99.8	1132	100.0
Unanswered	14	.....	18	.....	36	.....	68	.....
Total	293	.....	312	.....	595	.....	1200	.....

As has been remarked in previous studies, happiness is a subjective matter and difficult of comparison as between individuals. Too many elements enter into it and our studies are not sufficiently intensive to make returns that are more than interesting on the surface. Correlation Table 5, however, gives the estimates on this point of the women concerned. There is no significant difference in the answers of the various groups.

About 100 different kinds of employment are listed in reply to the question as to occupation. Although at the time of reply 107 women reported that they were not engaged in gainful occupation, only 53 were never so employed.

The educational group leads with 52 per cent of the women replying. It includes several deans of women, principals of public and private schools, one city superintendent of public schools, and teachers all along the line from college to kindergarten. Social service supplies nearly 11 per cent. Other groups follow, as shown in Correlation Table 6. Of the professional women, medicine is in the lead. Almost all the occupations into which educated women have entered have at least one representative.

The table shows that in the educational group, while the percentage of those who have never experienced intense emotional

CORRELATION TABLE 6

HOMOSEXUAL EXPERIENCES AND OCCUPATION

Occupation	H. I.		H. II.		Others		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Educational group	135	47.4	152	49.4	330	55.6	617	52.0
Social-service group	41	14.4	50	16.2	35	5.9	126	10.6
Secretarial and clerical work	20	7.0	21	6.8	45	7.6	86	7.2
Librarians	17	5.9	11	3.6	24	4.0	52	4.4
Professional group	13	4.6	18	5.8	29	4.9	60	5.1
Business group	12	4.2	14	4.6	18	3.0	44	3.7
Farmers	3	1.0	4	1.3	6	1.0	13	1.1
Research	5	1.8	2	.7	4	.7	11	.9
All others	19	6.7	18	5.8	34	5.7	70	6.0
No gainful occupation at time of reply	20	7.0	18	5.8	69	11.6	108	9.0
Total answers	285	100.0	308	100.0	594	100.0	1187	100.0
Unanswered	8	.....	4	.....	1	.....	13	.....
Total	293	.....	312	.....	595	.....	1200	.....

relations with other women within the definition of the H I group is sufficiently smaller than the group without any such experiences to be probably significant, it falls just below certainty in the matter of overt homosexuality.

In the social-service group, the percentages both of overt homosexuality and of intense emotional relationships with other women are sufficiently higher than that of those without such experiences to preclude the probability of chance. In no other occupational groups are the numbers large enough or the percentages sufficiently different to warrant any comments.

We particularly regret that we have not a larger representation of business and professional women, in view of various statements that have come to us from members of this group. One woman writes: "The ethics of homosexual relationships is the most serious problem the business or professional woman has to face today." Another woman makes an even stronger statement. She says: "In my city some business women are

hesitating to take apartments together for fear of the interpretation that may be put upon it."

Like happiness, success is a difficult matter to estimate. The question was asked, however, and Correlation Table 7 presents the results.

CORRELATION TABLE 7

HOMOSEXUAL EXPERIENCES AND SUCCESS—"DO YOU CONSIDER YOUR LIFE AS A WHOLE SUCCESSFUL?"

	H. I.		H. II.		Others		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Successful	180	66.1	171	60.6	364	67.0	715	65.1
Fairly successful	46	16.9	54	19.1	86	15.8	186	17.0
Neutral	15	5.5	20	7.1	30	5.5	65	5.9
Unsuccessful	31	11.4	37	13.1	63	11.6	131	11.9
Total answers	272	99.9	282	99.9	543	99.9	1097	99.9
Unanswered	21	.....	30	.....	52	.....	103	.....
Total	293	.....	312	.....	595	.....	1200	.....

It will be noted that there was practically no difference in the estimate of success of those in the H I group as compared with the estimate of those who deny any such experiences. The difference between this latter group and the H II group of 6.4 per cent falls just short of being certainly significant, but is large enough to indicate a probable real difference of mental attitude.

Table IV gives the numbers of those who engaged in sex play with other girls prior to adolescence. Correlation Table 8 shows the number in the groups under discussion who replied in the affirmative to the following question:

A 1. (a) Do you recall having had any sex feelings or impulses during childhood (up to beginning of menstruation)? Spontaneous (physiologic) excitation of organs; pleasure in handling organs; desire for sex excitement; sex day-dreams; curiosity about sex affairs of parents or other adults; strong attraction for boys and men; any other?

CORRELATION TABLE 8

HOMOSEXUAL EXPERIENCES AND REMEMBRANCE OF SEX FEELING IN CHILDHOOD

Remember sex feeling	H. I.		H. II.		Others		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Yes	127	45.4	166	55.3	281	49.1	574	49.8
No	153	54.6	134	44.7	291	50.9	578	50.2
Total answers	280	100.0	300	100.0	572	100.0	1152	100.0
Unanswered	13	.....	12	.....	23	.....	48	.....
Total	293	.....	312	.....	595	.....	1200	.....

The variations in the answers run from "Yes" or "No" unexplained, up to combinations of two or more or all of the types of feelings or impulses mentioned. Among those who never experienced intense emotional relations nor indulged in overt sex practices with other women, just about half have no recollection of such feelings in childhood. In the H I and H II groups, the percentages of those answering "Yes" and "No" are practically reversed. The percentage of those in the H II group who answer "Yes" is 9.4 higher than that of the H I group, a difference large enough to be certainly significant.

CORRELATION TABLE 9

HOMOSEXUAL EXPERIENCES AND MASTURBATION

	H. I.		H. II.		Others		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Practiced masturbation at some time	161	60.0	236	79.7	336	61.3	733	65.9
Never practiced	107	40.0	60	20.3	212	38.7	379	34.1
Total answers	268	100.0	296	100.0	548	100.0	1112	100.0
Unanswered	25	.....	16	.....	47	.....	88	.....
Total group	293	.....	312	.....	595	.....	1200	.....

We next compare homosexual relationships with other erotic practices. Correlation Table 9 shows clearly what was to be expected of the group resorting to overt practices. While those who admit the "college crush" kind of experience show practically no difference from the group of "others," over 18 per cent more of the overt group indulge in personal excitation, a certainly significant difference.

On the other hand, we did not expect the correlations shown in Table 10.

CORRELATION TABLE 10

HOMOSEXUAL EXPERIENCES AND COMPLETE ADULT SEX INTERCOURSE

Total group	H. I. (293)		H. II. (312)		Others (595)		Total (1200)	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
A. Complete intercourse as adult								
With *fiancé*	10	3.4	12	3.8	30	5.1	54	4.5
With other than *fiancé*	16	5.4	27	8.7	41	6.8	82	6.8
Total admitting experience	26	8.8	39	12.5	71	11.9	136	11.3
B. Incomplete intercourse as adult								
With *fiancé*	1	.....	7	.....	13	.....	21	.....
With other than *fiancé*	7	.....	19	.....	18	.....	44	.....
Total admitting experience	8	2.7	26	8.3	31	5.2	65	5.4
C. Section A + Section B								
With *fiancé*	11	.....	19	.....	43	.....	75	.....
With other than *fiancé*	23	.....	46	.....	59	.....	126	.....
Total admitting experience	34	11.6	65	20.8	102	17.1	201	16.7
D. Playing at sex intercourse in childhood with boys (in a few cases, men)	35	11.9	43	13.7	59	9.9	137	11.3

In our entire group, 136 women admitted complete sex intercourse with one or more men, while 65 others, for fear of consequences, refrained from the complete act. Sections A and B show the division among the three categories we are comparing.

In both instances the percentages based on the total number admitting such practices in the various groups is highest in the group of overt homosexuals.

For the sake of larger numbers these two sections are added in Section C. Here we note that, while the difference between the H II and "others" group is not large enough to be significant, there is 9.2 per cent difference between the H I and H II group, a difference large enough to be certainly significant.

In other words, in the H I group—*i.e.*, among the women belonging to the group which has had intense emotional relations with other women without indulging in sex practices or realizing that the experience is sexual, there has been a significantly smaller proportion of those who have formed heterosexual attachments.

Perhaps the most interesting of our correlation tables is Table 11, which gives the various combinations of erotic practices for our group of 312 overt homosexuals.

CORRELATION TABLE 11

VARIOUS COMBINATIONS OF EROTIC EXPERIENCE IN THE H. II(A). GROUP—*i.e.*, THOSE WITH OVERT HOMOSEXUAL PRACTICES—234 INDIVIDUALS

The individuals in Column 1 had also the additional number of experiences shown in Columns 2 to 6 (read across).

(A) THE RELATION WITH ONE WOMAN ONLY

	Column 1	*Column 2*	*Column 3*	*Column 4*	*Column 5*	*Column 6*
	H. II(a).	H. II(b).	H. II(c).*	H. I.	Masturbation	Sex intercourse
Line 1	23	.....	3	.....	.....	.....
Line 2	80	.....	27	.....	80	12
Line 3	10	.....	5	1 or more	.....	.....
Line 4	32	.....	14	1 or more	32	5
Line 5	1	1 or more	1	1 or more	.....	.....
Line 6	4	1 or more	1	1 or more	4	.....
Totals	150	.....	51	.....	116	17

* H. II(c). stands for homosexual practices in pre-adolescence.

CORRELATION TABLE 11 (*continued*)

(B) THE RELATION WITH TWO WOMEN

	Column 1	*Column 2*	*Column 3*	*Column 4*	*Column 5*	*Column 6*
	H. II(a).	H. II(b).	H. II(c).*	H. I.	Masturbation	Sex intercourse
Line 7	10	.....	3	1 or more	.....	.....
Line 8	29	.....	9	1 or more	29	3
Line 9	1	1 or more	1	1 or more	.....	.....
Line 10	2	1 or more	.....	1 or more	2	1
Totals	42	.....	13	.....	31	4

(C) THE RELATION WITH THREE WOMEN

Line 11	1	.....	1	1 or more	.....	.....
Line 12	11	.....	5	1 or more	11	.....
Totals	12	.....	6	.....	11	.....

(D) THE RELATION WITH FOUR WOMEN

Line 13	1	.....	1	1 or more	.....	.....
Line 14	1	.....	1	1 or more	1	1
Totals	2	.....	2	.....	1	1

(E) THE RELATION WITH FIVE WOMEN

Line 15	2	.....	.....	1 or more	2	2
Totals	2	.....	.....	.....	2	2

(F) THE RELATION WITH "SEVERAL" WOMEN—NUMBER NOT SPECIFIED

Line 16	4	.....	4	1 or more	.....	.....
Line 17	22	.....	3	1 or more	22	5
Totals	26	.....	7	.....	22	5
Grand total	234	.....	79	.....	183	29

CORRELATION TABLE 11-A

VARIOUS COMBINATIONS OF EROTIC EXPERIENCE IN THE H. II(B). GROUP—*i.e.*, WITHOUT OVERT EXPRESSION BUT WITH RECOGNITION OF THE SEXUAL NATURE OF THE EXPERIENCE

The individuals in Column 1 had also the additional number of experiences shown in Columns 2 to 5 (read across).

(A) THE RELATION WITH ONE WOMAN ONLY

	Column 1	*Column 2*	*Column 3*	*Column 4*	*Column 5*
	H. II(b).	H. II(c).	H. I.	Masturbation	Sex intercourse
Line 1	12	2	.....	.....	.....
Line 2	1	.....	.....	.....	1
Line 3	20	8	.....	20	1
Line 4	5	2	1 or more	.....	.....
Line 5	9	2	1 or more	9	3
Totals	47	14	.....	29	5

(B) THE RELATION WITH TWO WOMEN

Line 6	2	1	1 or more	.....	2
Line 7	12	4	1 or more	12	.....
Totals	14	5	.....	12	2

(C) THE RELATION WITH "SEVERAL" WOMEN—NUMBER NOT SPECIFIED

Line 8	5	1	1 or more	.....	.....
Line 9	12	.....	1 or more	12	.....
Totals	17	1	.....	12	.....
Grand total	78	20	.....	53	7

This table has been arranged on the basis of the number of overt homosexual relations reported. We find that by far the largest number, 197, or 63.1 per cent, of the entire H II group, admit only one such overt experience.

Fifty-six report two experiences, 12 say three experiences, 2

say four, and 2 say five experiences, while there are 43 who report "several" experiences.

By reading across the page we find the different types of experience in which various numbers of individuals indulged. For example: line one shows that 23 of the women who had only one overt experience never had any other adult erotic practice, but that 3 of them engaged in homosexual play prior to puberty.

Line two shows that 80 women with only one overt homosexual experience also engaged in personal masturbation, and of these 27 individuals had engaged in sex play in childhood and 2 reported adult sex intercourse. Line three shows that of 10 women with one overt homosexual experience all had had in addition one or more intense emotional experiences with other women not carried to the extreme, 5 had engaged in sex play as children, but none of the 10 had practiced personal masturbation or had sex intercourse—and so on through the twenty-six lines.

It is of interest to note that all the women who had more than one overt homosexual experience had also one or more experiences of the H I type, while less than half of the group with one overt experience only had additional intense emotional relations with other women.

CORRELATION TABLE 12

HOMOSEXUAL EXPERIENCES AND PRESENT SEX PROBLEMS

Problem	H. I.		H. II.		Others		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Homosexual experience	4	1.6	40	13.6	4	.8	48	4.4
Other sex problems	80	28.6	78	26.5	224	43.8	382	35.3
Total problems	84	30.2	118	40.1	228	44.6	430	39.7
No sex problem	195	69.8	176	59.9	283	55.4	654	60.3
Total answers	279	100.0	294	100.0	511	100.0	1084	100.0
Problems unanswered	14	.....	18	.....	84	.....	116	.....
Total group	293	.....	312	.....	595	.....	1200	.....

Correlation Table 12 is interesting because it shows that only 40 of the 312 overt homosexuals regarded their homosexual relationships in the light of a sex problem requiring solution. Although in some instances the overt relationship had been discontinued, they still felt the urge and the need of adjustment, particularly in their thinking.

Four only in the H I group were disquieted by their emotional relationships, while of the 4 who had never had either type of experience one cannot overcome her sense of shame resulting from childhood (pre-puberty) experiences, one cannot become interested in men as a result of childhood conditions and feels there is a homosexual basis for her attitude; one is the object of the emotion of another woman whom she is sorry for and would like to help (she writes, "What a pity it is we cannot discuss such things frankly"); the fourth has a similar problem in relation to a woman friend with whom she has much in common.

It should be noted that those who were without homosexual experiences had a significantly higher percentage of sex problems in general than the women in the H I group. The percentage is also higher than the total in the H II group, but not high enough to be significant.

Under Section III of our questionnaire, in question 9, we asked for the following information:

9. Will you give the reasons why you have not married?
   (a) Do you regret that you have not married?
   (b) Why?
   (c) Have you ever been engaged?
   (d) Are you now engaged to be married?
   (e) Do you expect to marry if you meet the right man?

Turning back to Table VIII, we find that in 24.6 per cent of the H II group, and in 14.7 per cent of the H I group, relations with other women had an influence, or *possibly* had an influence, in failure to marry. We note that 28 individuals of the H II group say definitely it had an influence.

Correlation Tables 13 A, B and C give the answers to question 9.

CORRELATION TABLE 13(A)

HOMOSEXUALITY AND FAILURE TO MARRY

Reasons for failure to marry	H. I. (293)		H. II. (312)		Others (595)		Totals (1200)	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Unanswered	19	6.4	29	9.2	75	12.6	123	10.2
Total number of answers	274	93.6	283	90.8	520	87.4	1077	89.8
1. Never met the right man	81	29.5*	68	24.0*	156	30.0*	305	28.3*
2. Was never in love with any man	24	8.7	28	9.8	37	7.1	89	8.2
3. In love with man she could not marry	26	9.4	26	9.1	45	8.6	97	9.0
4. Lack of opportunity to meet men	11	4.0	17	6.0	24	4.6	52	4.8
5. "No one ever asked me"	18	6.5	15	5.3	22	4.2	55	5.1
6. Homosexual relations prevented	2	.8	15	5.3	....	.....	17	1.6
7. Childhood conditioning	11	3.7	14	4.9	11	2.1	36	3.3
8. Engagement broken—never loved another	7	2.5	11	3.8	36	6.9	54	5.1
9. Financial (family) obligations of woman	3	1.1	7	2.5	21	4.0	31	2.8
10. Financial (family) obligations of man	2	.8	7	2.5	9	1.7	18	1.6
11. Too shy—not attractive to men	7	2.5	7	2.5	8	1.5	22	2.0
12. Could not love man who asked	2	.8	6	2.1	4	.7	12	1.1
13. "Never loved men who asked and men I loved never asked"	10	3.6	6	2.1	5	1.2	21	1.9
14. *Fiancé* died—never loved another	5	1.9	6	2.1	22	4.2	33	3.0
15. No desire to marry—marriage never appealed	6	2.2	5	1.8	4	.7	15	1.4
16. Desire for a career	4	1.5	5	1.8	13	2.4	22	2.0
17. Parental objections to particular man	3	1.1	5	1.8	5	1.2	13	1.2
18. Too particular, critical or cautious	4	1.5	5	1.8	5	1.2	14	1.2
19. Engaged now. Never in love before	5	1.8	4	1.4	10	1.9	19	1.7
20. Ill health of woman	3	1.1	4	1.4	10	1.9	17	1.5
21. Ill health of *fiancé*	2	.8	1	.3	....	.....	3	.3
22. Desire for freedom	3	1.1	3	.9	2	.4	8	.7
23. Mother's advice against marriage in general	1	.4	2	.7	4	.7	7	.6
24. Was never asked—never wanted to be asked	5	1.9	2	.7	12	2.3	19	1.7
25. Special cases—several reasons	10	3.6	5	1.8	18	3.4	33	3.0
26. Sex relations distasteful	....	.....	....	.....	8	1.5	8	.7
27. Sex intercourse prevented marriage with anyone else	....	.....	....	.....	4	.7	4	.4
28. Fear of child-bearing	....	.....	....	.....	2	.4	2	.2
29. Reasons given each by a single individual	19	6.9	9	3.1	23	4.4	51	4.7
Total	274	99.7	283	99.5	520	99.9	1077	99.1

* Percentages based on total number answering.

From Table 13 A we see that only 15 individuals of the H II group give homosexual relations as their reason for failure to marry. Comparison, case by case, of the answers to the specific question "What influence, if any, has this had on your remaining single?" with those to question 9 shows there is not the discrepancy that appears at first glance. We do find that of the 15 who say it *was* the reason only 7 are included in the 28 who say it had an influence, leaving 8 more, or 36 in all, who feel that homosexual relations were the cause of their remaining single.

On the other hand, the 21 who say homosexual relations were a cause for remaining single, but specify some other reason in answer to the question as to why they failed to marry, give such answers as this:

"Marriage never appealed,"
"Sex relations distasteful,"
"Absorbed in other matters,"
"Never in love with a man,"
"Not attractive to men"; etc.

Thus it appears that these are confirmatory or supplementary to the answers in Table VIII.

Aside from this, one is struck in this table with the slight variations in percentages in the numbers in the three groups giving the various reasons. In line 29 we note that twice as many in the H I group give individual answers than in the H II group, but the numbers involved are too small to be significant in themselves.

Intense emotional relations with other women, whether leading to overt practices or not, seem to make little difference in the proportions who regret their single state. Table 13 B shows that the highest percentage of regrets is in the H II group, though the percentage difference is not high enough to be mathematically significant.

CORRELATION TABLE 13(B)

1. DO YOU REGRET THAT YOU HAVE NOT MARRIED?

	H. I. (293)		H. II. (312)		Others (595)		Total (1200)	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Yes	137	50.7	156	55.7	266	50.7	559	52.0
Sometimes	39	14.4	32	11.4	73	13.9	144	13.4
No	94	34.9	92	32.9	185	35.4	371	34.6
Answered	270	100.0	280	100.0	524	100.0	1074	100.0
Unanswered	23	.....	32	.....	71	.....	126	.....
Total	293	.....	312	.....	595	.....	1200	.....

2. WERE YOU EVER ENGAGED?

Yes	66	24.2	76	27.9	197	36.2	339	31.2
No	207	75.8	197	72.1	341	63.8	745	68.8
Answered	273	100.0	273	100.0	538	100.0	1084	100.0
Unanswered	20	.....	39	.....	57	.....	116	.....
Total	293	.....	312	.....	595	.....	1200	.....

3. ARE YOU ENGAGED NOW?

Yes	19	6.9	19	6.9	48	8.9	86	7.0
No	257	93.1	259	93.1	496	91.1	1012	93.0
Answered	276	100.0	278	100.0	544	100.0	1098	100.0
Unanswered	17	.....	34	.....	51	.....	102	.....
Total	293	.....	312	.....	595	.....	1200	.....

4. DO YOU EXPECT TO MARRY IF YOU MEET THE RIGHT MAN?

Yes	183	60.5	199	69.3	370	67.2	752	67.9
Perhaps	39	14.4	40	13.9	78	14.1	157	14.1
No	47	25.1	48	16.8	102	18.7	197	18.0
Answered	269	100.0	287	100.0	550	100.0	1106	100.0
Unanswered	24	.....	25	.....	45	.....	94	.....
Total	293	.....	312	.....	595	.....	1200	.....

The same thing is true when we compare the reasons given for regret.

CORRELATION TABLE 13(C)

HOMOSEXUALITY AND FAILURE TO MARRY—WHY THEY REGRET NOT MARRYING

Reasons for regret at not marrying	H. I. (137)		H. II. (156)		Others (266)		Total (559)	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Unanswered	8	.....	7	.....	12	.....	27	.....
Total number of answers	129	.....	149	.....	254	.....	532	.....
1. Believe marriage the normal life for woman	42	32.5	45	30.2	80	31.5	167	31.4
2. The desire for children	23	17.8	25	16.7	41	16.1	89	16.7
3. The desire for a husband	4	3.1	2	1.3	13	4.1	19	3.5
4. The desire for husband and children	11	8.5	18	12.0	20	7.9	49	9.2
5. The desire for a home	2	1.5	2	1.3	5	2.1	9	1.6
6. The desire for a home and husband	2	1.5	....	.....	....	.....	2	.3
7. The desire for home and children	9	6.9	15	10.0	33	12.9	57	10.7
8. The desire for home and family life	2	1.5	....	.....	....	.....	2	.3
9. The desire for husband, home and children	9	6.9	7	4.6	16	6.3	32	6.0
10. Believes she would be happier married	2	1.5	5	3.3	7	2.9	14	2.6
11. Desire for physical relationship	4	3.1	10	6.6	....	.....	14	2.6
12. Desire for married life (do not say why)	....	.....	1	.6	4	1.7	5	.9
13. Regret at missing a richer, fuller experience	8	6.2	12	8.7	8	3.4	28	5.2
14. Has domestic tastes—could make good home	3	2.3	2	1.3	1	.4	6	1.1
15. Dread of loneliness	2	1.5	....	.....	10	3.9	12	2.2
16. Regret for not having found the right man	....	.....	....	.....	6	2.5	6	1.1
17. Give one reason not given by others*	6	4.6	5	3.3	10	3.9	21	3.9
Total	129	99.4	149	99.9	254	99.6	532	99.3

*e.g. (*a*) Regrets influence of mother in forming viewpoint; (*b*) "seems more worthwhile than digging around to maintain your own life;" (*c*) "would like to have had my children younger" (age 34—engaged); (*d*) "I have no future;" (*e*) the longer one lives the harder it is to adjust oneself in life and marriage; etc., etc.

In each of the three groups the percentage of those who say that they believe marriage is the normal life for a woman is practically the same.

The various combinations of "husband and children," "husband and home," etc., which were given in the answers were used in the table in an effort to discover difference of emphasis, if any.

Adding together the combinations which mention "children" —*e.g.*, lines 2, 4, 7 and 9, and those mentioning "husband," we get the following:

Group	Desire for children	Desire for husband
H. I	40.1 per cent	20 per cent
H. II	43.3 per cent	17.9 per cent
Others	43.2 per cent	18.3 per cent

That is, twice as many women in the H I group regret children as regret husbands, and the percentage of difference is even greater in the other two groups.

The percentage of the overt homosexuals who regret husband is least, but not enough so to mean anything.

Going back to Table 13 B, we note that the proportion of those who have ever been engaged is significantly higher in the group who have never had intense relationships of any sort ("others") and is slightly higher, though not enough to be significant, in the H II than in the H I group.

There is no difference in the percentage of the H I and H II groups engaged to be married at the time of reply, and the 2 per cent difference of "others" is too little to mean anything.

It is perhaps surprising to find that a significantly higher per cent of the overt homosexuals as compared to the H I group say they would marry "if they met the right man." The difference between the H II and "others" is not significant.

IV. *Conclusions.*—Summing up we find that:

1. Slightly over 50 per cent of a group of 1,200 women college graduates, at least five years out of college, state that they have experienced intense emotional relations with other women, and that in slightly more than half these cases, or 26 per cent of the entire group, the experience has been accompanied by overt physical practices.

2. Half the group *without* overt practices began to have these feelings before college. Only 37 per cent of the group with overt practices began them before college. The percentages of those beginning the experiences in college is the same for both groups, but twice as many who had neither experience till after college belong to the overt-practice group. The total carrying on such practices after college decreases by about a third in the "emotional relations" group, but increases by 16 per cent in the overt practice group.

3. A considerably higher percentage of those who recall homosexual play prior to puberty join the overt group than fall into the "college-crush" group after adolescence. The same thing is true of those who recall sex feelings in childhood.

4. There is no significant difference in the percentages of those in the two groups who continue the experiences at the time of reporting, but a very significant difference in the proportion of the overt group who discontinued because of a growing feeling that the relation was abnormal, wrong, or disgusting.

5. Over 11 per cent of the overt group believe that these relationships were influential in preventing marriage.

6. Of those who answered our questionnaire twice as many were in the third decade of life as in any other, and this held for all three groups into which we have divided the answers for the purposes of this study.

The percentages of those in the 30's were still higher in both groups of those who were continuing the experiences at time of reporting.

7. Such experiences were significantly fewer among those attending coeducational colleges or universities, although 18 per cent of the total number who had experienced intense emotional

relations with other girls, and 21 per cent of those who had indulged in overt practices, were found to have graduated from these institutions.

8. No significant differences in present health were found between those in the two groups reporting intense emotional relationships and those never having had these experiences, although the overt group had had in the past a higher percentage of nervous breakdowns.

9. Considering occupation, the only one which showed a significantly higher percentage in the two groups representing emotional relationships only, and overt practices as compared with those without such experiences, was social service. In our largest occupational group, "education," there were no significant differences, while the numbers in other occupations were too small for mathematical comparison.

10. No significant differences were found between the various groups in the answers to questions as to happiness and success.

11. As to other erotic practices, masturbation was found to be significantly higher in the group which had indulged in overt practices.

Sex intercourse, however, was significantly lowest in the group which had experienced intense emotional relationships without overt practices.

12. The addition of the 78 cases who had regarded these experiences as sexual, and the overt cases selected from the last 200 questionnaires received, failed to change the relationship of the figures given in the second chapter on "Periodicity of Sex Desire."

The statement made that there is no relationship between observed periodicity of sex desire and overt homosexualism still holds.

V. *Case Histories.*—Although in a study of this kind it is unsafe, if not impossible, to classify the cases as to types or with reference to causation, we will illustrate what has preceded by brief summaries of selected histories.

We will first present examples of a group who report themselves to be "naturally" homosexual.

(1) The first is that of a woman of 38, graduated from a coeducational university. Later she studied nursing and is now practicing as a graduate nurse. She finds her work extremely interesting—says she is considered very successful and has received a number of honors for distinguished service.

She writes: "I am lacking in sex instinct so far as men are concerned. I have never met a man I have had the slightest desire to marry, nor have I ever had any sex feeling for men."

She gives very little history of childhood. She only remembers vaguely when she first became curious about sex matters. It was somewhere between 8 and 12 that she recalls becoming curious about the anatomy of the genital organs. Her mother met her questions with rebuff. Her answers were evasive.

She had no preparation for the experience of menstruation, which began at 14. Sometime during adolescence she got hold of a book of her mother's on sex matters for married women. She read some of it secretly. It was disgusting to her and she tried to put it out of her mind. Later, in college, through courses in biology and hygiene, she received instruction in sex matters. She says of these, "The lectures on sex were too pathological and therefore a terrific shock."

She declares that, except for curiosity, she had no sex feeling in childhood, but after puberty a tendency to have "crushes" on other girls or women developed. She denies sex play of any sort in childhood. She did not begin to practice masturbation until 26 years of age. The practice has caused her a great amount of worry on moral grounds. She has religious scruples against it. Scientifically she is not so sure. The personal practice followed mutual masturbation which was taught her by another woman. This was after leaving college. She has had emotional experiences with girls and women from the time she was 14, but states that this was the first time overt sexual practices were indulged in. She writes: "This was my first real consciousness of sex." This first overt relationship continued for only a short time. Years went by. For the past two years a

relationship has been maintained with a woman of her own age, who, she says, "is as much a real mate as a husband would be. I have come to think that certain women, many, in fact, possibly most of those who are unmarried, are more attracted to women than to men, through no fault of their own, but inherent in their nature; and I am somewhat inclined to think that to mate with one woman is as natural and as healthful and helpful for them as are marital relations between husband and wife. In my own case it has had a decidedly softening and sweetening effect on my temper and general attitude."

In spite of this, under "present sex problems" she states that the "conflict between the moral code of church and society and sex life with another woman" disturbs her. Yet, "I cannot believe that large numbers of women must forego full development because they are attracted to a woman rather than to a man. . . . It seems very prevalent among humans and I feel cannot be wholly bad."

She has never had any kind of relations whatsoever with men, nor the slightest inclination for any. She could not bear to be fondled by a man.

(2) Case number two is a woman of 29 years, a graduate of a woman's college. After graduation she did advanced work in pedagogy. Her health has always been excellent. She has been engaged in teaching and in editorial writing. She is happy and successful.

She writes: "From the time I was about 7, I had periods of intense devotion to some older girl. Up to the time I went to boarding-school, at 16, these 'crushes' were usually brief, with one exception that lasted two years. While at school I concentrated my devotion on one young teacher. During my college years I had a number of attachments to upper classmen, but only in freshman year were they very intense. Since leaving college there have been two women. Men and boys have attracted me very little—*never* sexually."

Describing her experiences as a young girl, she says, "I have

a physical revulsion against physical demonstrations from men, and always have had."

In answer to the question as to why she had not married, she says that she has never met a man who could rouse any feeling deep enough to overcome this revulsion.

For the past three years she has maintained a relationship with one woman which has included mutual masturbation. She writes that "sex intercourse with one woman" has prevented her resistance to normal sex emotion from causing unhealthy repression. "Therefore, though in general I don't approve of it, in my case I know it has been helpful rather than harmful."

As to childhood experiences, she says that she first became curious at the age of 10, through the prospective arrival of a baby sister. Her mother answered her questions concerning it truthfully. Previous to this, however, when about 8, a girl with whom she had been forbidden to play explained to her the meaning of a word used by the children for sex intercourse. She says she did not realize it, however, as a sex matter.

She never engaged in masturbation as a child, but in adult life was taught by an older woman with whom she had homosexual relations.

(3) The next case differs from the two previous cases in that this business woman of 41, a graduate from a woman's college, states that she was once engaged to be married, but did not love the man and broke it off. She absolutely denies any sex feelings or experiences as a child. She had no curiosity as a child, no information from either father or mother. Her first information came from a teacher when she was 15 years old. She had no preparation for menstruation, which occurred at the age of 12. She never knew anything about sexual intercourse until, at 19, while in college, she learned it from a fellow-student. Questions relating to personal masturbation are unanswered.

From childhood on she had intense emotional relations with other girls or women. She says, "Not more than one at a time." Until her last experience, they were not associated with sex in her own mind and were without physical expression other than

hugging and kissing. For seventeen years she has had a relation with a woman which has continued up to the present time, and which she gives as a reason for remaining single. She writes: "I have a woman friend whom I love and admire above everyone in the world and with whom my life is perfectly happy because of our mutual love and congeniality in all things. The physical factor is only one minor factor in the friendship which is based on perfect congeniality and love."

She has always been in excellent health, is happy, and considers herself successful. Her chief interests outside of her work lie in outdoor sports.

She has never had any sex problems in her life.

(4) Case number four is that of a teacher of music 36 years of age, who graduated from a woman's college and later took her diploma from a conservatory of music. Her health has always been good. She considers herself happy, but is only partially satisfied with her success in her profession.

This woman gives rather a full history of her childhood. She began masturbation between 3 and 4 years of age. It was discovered accidentally by pressing against a low shelf. She believes that an orgasm was produced as early as this. Her mother discovered her indulging and explained that it was "not good to do." She discontinued for some years, and began again at the age of 12. She never indulged in sex play or had other sex experiences as a child.

She states that as a child she had strong attraction toward girls and women. At the age of 10 she saw a family of new-born kittens, wondered at their damp condition, went to her mother about it, and received an explanation as to where babies and kittens came from, and how. Her mother, however, did not explain to her the experience of menstruation which occurred when she was 12. It was about this time that she first learned about sexual intercourse from playmates and from books.

Her emotional experiences with other girls and women began quite young. The time is not specified. These relationships

have continued ever since, but never with more than one at a time. The earlier friendships were without overt expression. Later, various types of expression have been indulged in.

Concerning her reasons for not marrying, she writes, "I have always since childhood hoped for a woman partner and now I have her and would rather have her than any man."

In relation to sex problems, she writes: "The sex problem which worried me came at about the age of 25. I realized that my emotional experiences were more or less out of the ordinary. For a while this worried me frightfully. After six months or more of great mental anxiety in this regard I finally went to a woman physician and made a clean breast of everything. She was most wonderfully wise with me, explained that this was quite natural with some people, and gave me further help and information that has stood by me ever since."

Speaking of her present relationship, she writes: "It has arisen as an expression of love, which is the only way I have experienced it, and I am qualified to judge. It has proved helpful and has made my life inexpressibly richer and deeper. I would not have been without the experience for worlds."

(5) Case number five is that of a woman of 30 years, graduate of a woman's college. She has been engaged in teaching, but was unemployed, from choice, at the time of replying to the questionnaire. Her health has always been good. She is very happy and considers her life successful.

She has no very clear memory as to when she first became curious about sex. An episode when she was about 10 years is the first she remembers, when another girl told her about houses of prostitution and she wondered what they were for. At 14, another girl told her where babies came from, but she had no considerable interest in the matter. Neither her father nor her mother ever gave her any information on sex matters. She was not prepared for menstruation. When it occurred she was frightened, but even then "would not go to my mother, whose viewpoint made me feel uncomfortable." She states that she was

ignorant as to most sex matters until she was a grown woman. She received no sex instruction of any kind at college. She says "The 'conspiracy of silence' was complete in my case, and I consider it unjust and harmful and a thoroughly unnatural attitude."

She does not recall any sex feeling in childhood before the age of 12 or 13. Then occasionally she had sex daydreams. "They did not amount to much."

She never engaged in sex play as a child. On two or three occasions, once she remembers at 7 years, and twice at 11 or 12 years, her brother attempted to play at sex intercourse.

An older sister taught her masturbation at the age of 12. She did not continue it, as it made her feel ashamed and uncomfortable. She began again, however, when about 19, and it is still continued at intervals.

Her only heterosexual experience was with a boy of her own age previous to her entering college. Her mother and this boy's mother were chums. They had determined that their children should marry and had always referred to them as sweethearts. Just prior to college, she met him after some years of separation. It was expected that they would become engaged, but she soon found that she neither admired nor loved him, and would never marry him under any circumstances.

She had no homosexual experiences prior to college. One experience with overt sexual expression which began in college has continued up to the present time. This affair, she believes, has had very great influence in her remaining single. She writes: "My complete congeniality with, and love for, a woman, has prevented my marrying. I do not think such unforced congeniality could be found twice in life by one person. I would not give it up for anything. I should be ashamed of indiscriminate relations with either sex. I am not ashamed of this one relationship because I admire, love, and am loyally attached to this woman, as much as I could be to a husband, had I chosen one. The relationship has been helpful in every way."

She never has had any sex problems.

(6) This is a young woman 28 years of age, graduate of a woman's college. During the past six years she has been engaged in office work, social work, and teaching. She is happy and considers herself moderately successful. Her health has always been good. Her chief interests outside her work lie in labor economics and music.

Her first recollection of curiosity in sex matters was at 10 years of age, when she was told malicious stories about the birth of children by her schoolmates. These stories included the father's part and made her "cold and suspicious toward boys." She never asked for any sex information from her parents and never received any. Menstruation did not occur until she was 17. She had no preparation for it except what other girls told her. The result of their telling, she says, was "very harmful."

As a child, previous to puberty, she recalls pleasure in handling sex organs, desire for sex excitement, sex daydreams, and curiosity about sex affairs of parents and other adults.

As a child she indulged in sex play with other girls. At the age of 15 she spent the night with other girls and they enjoyed close contact. During college days, and since leaving college, she has had three homosexual experiences, all of which included overt practices. One such relationship continues at the present time. She views it with shame, however, and is trying to overcome it. Of this she writes as follows: "I live with a girl friend in a small apartment. We were drawn together by physical attraction. It has made life beautiful and more livable in many ways. We express our affection for each other and the times are becoming more and more rare when it develops into something that both of us are ashamed of. We have set out to overcome it and will, I believe, without losing a sincere and genuine love for each other."

She has never had any feeling whatever for boys or men. She says "any attention on their part turns me to ice."

"My chief sex problem has been that I have always had to fight to overcome attraction for members of my own sex. They have always felt it, too, and in each case where it had a hold on me the other person responded."

(7) Case number seven is that of a woman of 32, a graduate of a woman's college, with an M.A. in psychology. She is holding a responsible and well-paid position as a research executive. She considers herself very happy and successful in her work. She says of it: "It is interesting, creative, and tremendously stimulating."

She has very little memory of sex curiosity in childhood. When she was 10 years old a baby sister was born. Her mother told her about it beforehand. She does not remember that it concerned her much. Also at 10 years a schoolmate told her of menstruation, that "it happened to every girl and no one knew why."

She recalls no sex feelings prior to puberty. Menstruation frightened her. She never engaged in sex play as a child and never masturbated until she was 28 years old. At that time she became engaged. In fact, she states that she was engaged twice, but was wholly wretched during both periods.

She never had any homosexual experiences until after leaving college. During her last engagement she met a woman with whom she fell in love. From this time on she could not endure her *fiancé* and broke her engagement at once. The friendship continues to the present time. Of it she writes, "She satisfied me entirely and I have never found a man who did." The relationship has been "not only helpful, but immensely stimulating. I am absolutely contented, not restless. I have worked out my own philosophy of life, and men are not essential to my happiness."

Under sex problems, she says, referring to her woman partner, "We love to be together, and both get decidedly physical satisfaction from bodily contact. We have wondered sometimes if this could be harmful, but intellectually and spiritually we are so satisfying that physical contact seems like a symbol of our oneness. There is none of the beast-like excitement or passion such as you find with men when they are sexually excited. We would like to know if there is anything unhealthy in two women loving each other, provided they are able to stimulate each other to do better work."

(8) The next case differs from the preceding in that the writer has never had good health. She is a woman of 33, graduate of a woman's college, whose health since childhood has been only poor or fair. For this reason she has never had any gainful employment until the last five weeks before replying to the questionnaire. She then began work as a bookkeeper. She is easily fatigued, has had a nervous breakdown, and is very much inclined to worry. Her life has been unhappy, unsatisfactory, and unsuccessful, due, she believes, to her poor health.

At 7 years she became curious about sex matters, particularly as to where babies came from. A girl playmate two years older than she gave her an accurate account, including the sex relation between men and women, and told her that the sex act produced babies. There was no effect of this information except that it satisfied her curiosity. However, she went to her mother with questions concerning it and met with rebuff. She did not menstruate until 15. The only information she had concerning it was from a schoolmate. She was not frightened, but took it as a matter of course.

She engaged with other girls in the mutual handling of sex organs and play at sex intercourse until she was 13 years old, but never with boys. She says that she had never practiced personal masturbation.

She has never been physically attracted by men. The thought of sex relations with men is very repugnant to her.

She began to experience intense emotional relations with girls and women as a little girl and it has continued up to the present time. She has had several such experiences, the number not stated, overt only in two instances. The relationships have had no effect on her health whatever, but have given happiness as long as they lasted.

Under "problems" she writes, "I am not bothered by, but am interested in finding the reasons for, sexual inversion." She calls herself a "congenital invert."

She has read quite extensively and discusses at considerable length the theories of the various writers, "merely as a matter of intellectual interest." She closes by saying, "I am reading

what books I can get hold of on the subject, and discussing it with people who have had similar experiences."

(9) The last case I shall quote in this group is that of a woman of 45, graduate of a woman's college, who has never been engaged in a gainful occupation, but takes care of her investments, which apparently are sufficient to permit her to indulge in civic work, charity, travel, etc. She says her life is happy and successful.

Previous to puberty, she says, she was a tomboy, uncurious about sex matters, with no sex emotions. At 13, when menstruation started, her mother explained it. She had sisters who were older and had children, but, she says, they never discussed sex matters. She knew very little about it. She did not like parties and social attention. She preferred outdoor sports.

She recalls no sex feelings whatever as a child, but remembers engaging in sex play in which she always took the boy's part. She did not discover masturbation until she was 16 years of age, and it is still practiced at times.

She had no close friendship with women prior to college. She admired women at a distance. During college, and since, she has had several intense experiences, but without overt sexual practices. She has realized, however, that they were sex attractions, and believes that those attractions have prevented any interest in men. She has no sexual feeling whatever for men. She says that these friendships with women had had great influence on her remaining single, "They have always been the sweethearts of my boy-self."

The next two cases illustrate the type of experiences on which Correlation Table 11 is based. Both are examples of multiple erotic practices.

Case number one is that of a woman 31 years old, graduate of a woman's college, with an M.A. degree. She is a teacher. She was in good health at the time of replying to the questionnaire. In the past she has been troubled with various nervous disorders, although they have never amounted to nervous breakdown. As a child her winters were spent in the city and her

summers in the country. During this period her health was excellent.

She first became conscious of sex matters at 7 or 8 years of age. She had no brothers, and was curious about the difference between boys and girls. At 8 or 9 her mother voluntarily explained to her the mother's part in the birth of babies. At 10 or 11 she instructed her as to menstruation so far as it concerned actual occurrences. The information was so solemnly imparted that she thought it must be something very sinful. Later on, at 14 or 15, she questioned her mother about the relation of the sexes. Her mother told her that she didn't need to know until she was married. She was not satisfied until she had found out all she could concerning sex relations from books, Stanley Hall's *Adolescence* among others.

As a child she had several experiences which left unfortunate impressions—including observation from a bridge of a man in a freight-yard who was practicing masturbation. She watched until a policeman sent him away. Again, "a bad little boy" made certain remarks to her which excited her, although she was not conscious of their exact meaning. As a child she took pleasure in handling the sex organs of other children; she also indulged in sex daydreams. They were very vague in childhood, but in youth became less so, when sex definitely entered into her conscious thoughts. Their theme usually was "having a very ideal lover kiss me, and want me to be the mother of his children, but not until college did I begin to dream of the sexual act." She never indulged in personal masturbation until after college.

She had a very unhappy childhood. "Books were my chief source of stimulation, during an 'only-child,' city childhood. In adolescence I got drunk, emotionally, on every mention of sex I could find. I do not seek out such books now, of course, but I still respond to erotic passages in books."

Prior to college she never had experienced any intense emotional relation with other girls or women. During college, and since college, she has had all in all four homosexual experiences,

involving, she says, everything possible to such relationships. They have not continued up to the present time. Except in one case with a girl whom she calls a degenerate, these relationships have changed to normal friendships. She writes at considerable length concerning them. Of the discontinuing of such a relationship she says: "As I grew older, it became no longer identified with 'love.' It seemed inexcusable, debasing, and harmed friendship." However, she never felt shame in regard to it. "I don't think it is a question of shame, or of approval, either. . . . I got myself into fearful hot water once by not utterly damning a student of mine because of it. Until teachers and educators face the problem honestly, there's going to be a continuance of a stupid, cowardly, hypocritical attitude, and much unnecessary, harmful suffering by girls who feel that the world would regard them as pariahs, dirty, evil things, although they *know* they are not. I shall be interested to know whether you find that homosexualism is less a problem in co-educational colleges. In some boarding schools it is rampant, but the lady principals won't acknowledge it."

At first homosexual relationships proved helpful and stimulating, but only at first. "Later it was a wearisome struggle. Until I had real sexual experience, many women, old and young, 'fell in love with me,' and it made me miserable." She believes these experiences had a great deal of influence in her remaining single. "I've been absurdly wrapped up in my women friends. Often I have neglected opportunities—rather rare in my life—of meeting men, or making more general friendships which would have led to more normal social relations. I knew nothing about men to start with, was self- and sex-conscious, and became all the more so. I have planned my life, often, around that of a woman friend, and often unwisely."

Personal masturbation was not begun until 27 or 28 years of age. "I, as it were, grew into it *via* my homosexual experiences. When there was no woman in my sexual life I began the practice." When I was in college I would not even go to college plays, they excited me so, and made me unhappy because I

had no boy friends, no chance for love. Now I can be impersonal about plays or movies, if I want to, and I usually want to."

As to reasons why she has not married, she states: "I have met so few eligible men that I could count them. Homosexualism has interfered. So have my brains." It is necessary for her to contribute to the support of her family. She says most men could not afford to marry her on this account. She regrets not having married, "because I'm a 'born housekeeper,' apparently have the makings of a good mother, know how to be patient and not expect fairy-story love, and because I want a home, a life and *future* of my own, a chance to make children as happy as I was unhappy, a chance to try to, at least. I am hopelessly domestic, the 'stay-at-home' kind. I know I could 'make some man a good home,' and, I dare to think, a good wife, too. But I should want a trial physical marriage first."

She has never been engaged, but has had sex intercourse with two men. One was a very recent experience. The first was the result of spooning with a man, after leaving college. In the second case, which occurred recently, "only twenty-four hours intervened between the first kiss and the sexual act. The man was a healthy animal, and sophisticated. I wanted, and felt I needed, the experience, so I had it. The man, although not married, was not in a position to marry me. He only partly wanted to, anyway, and never intended to, as I definitely knew. I had no illusions." She is not ashamed of the act, but has some fear that, if known, it would hurt her reputation. She does not say that as yet it has had any unfortunate effect upon her life.

In the section devoted to sex problems, she writes, as to adolescence: "Up to college I wanted normal, happy youth, with some romance. (I had none of either)." In college "I wanted, first to be a man, so I could be the lover of the girl I had homosexual relations with. After a while I began to want a lover for myself. Through it all what I wanted and needed was some plain, everyday fun and good times, instead of rather ghastly family troubles, and poverty, and shyness, and self-consciousness which turned me into a rather despised 'grind.' . . . I studied —as other people might get drunk or take drugs—was patient,

went to church. I won high honors. I tried to be good; but I was a nervous wreck, an utterly abnormal thing, though I didn't show it, to most people." Now her problem is "getting along without sex fulfillment. I am not bothered as I was before this recent experience, however." Referring to herself in connection with the questionnaire, she says, "I probably will be one of the abnormal ones."

Case number two is also that of a teacher, a graduate of a coeducational university, and who also has an M.A. degree. Her childhood was spent in the city. She has been in excellent health all her life, has never worried or had a nervous breakdown. She is happy, but does not find her work very satisfactory. Of this she says: "My life as a whole is happy because I have good health and enough intellectual training to enable me to be fairly resourceful and active. My professional life is not satisfactory because I have no respect for the sort of teaching I am compelled to do in the ——— state school system."

At 8 years of age, the discussion and furtive references to sex carried on by two older girls first aroused her curiosity in such matters. From them she received information concerning the differences in sex organs, and matters relating to procreation. A little later on her mother voluntarily gave her correct information concerning sex matters, and prepared her for menstruation. At this time she was about 14 years of age. She considers herself to have been a rather practical child, not given to daydreams. She did not play much with other children and was very shy of boys. She had four younger brothers, for whom she helped to care. At the age of 9, for about two years she engaged with other girls in sex play. She says she did not care for this herself, but did it to please the other girls. She was past 20 years of age before she discovered the pleasure of handling her own sex organs. At this time she began masturbation, which has been continued up to the present time. At first she worried, thinking it might be a dangerous practice, but it has had no effect on her physical health and has appealed to her as a release from tension.

Prior to college she had a number of emotional experiences with other girls or women. During and after college there have been three experiences, which have gone to the extreme so far as overt practices are concerned. She does not believe that her homosexual experiences have had any influence on her remaining single. Desirable men have sought her, but she has refused them. She has gone so far as to become engaged. Reading between the lines, it would seem improbable that her relationships with women have had no influence on her remaining single. She remarks that this sex relationship "has not proved injurious to my physical health, but it has to my ability to contact people normally."

As a young woman she never spooned with boys. "After I became mature and lost my fear of the opposite sex, I had several such experiences." In later years she has carried her relations with more than one man, not her *fiancé,* to the limit. Her attitude toward these experiences is "that it is natural and practically inevitable when people are normally healthy and attractive." She does not regret not having married, as she says that since leaving college "my emotional life has been fed on the sex side. . . . I do not need the financial help of a husband. The many husbands I observe possessed by other women do not seem to me to have developed much of a genius for companionship with their wives."

In the few years following college her intense desire for physical sex satisfaction offered a problem. So far as the present is concerned, she does not consider that her recurrent sex desire any longer constitutes a problem.

She believes that sex intercourse is necessary for complete physical and mental health for all men and all women if they are normal.

An illustration of homosexual as a substitute for heterosexual practices:

The following case is an illustration of homosexual practices frankly indulged in "because a beloved person of the opposite

sex was not at hand to be an outlet for a normal emotion." This woman is now 44 years of age, and is a graduate of a coeducational college. As a child her health was not good. It was fair during adolescence and college, and has improved since. She has been a teacher, but at present is engaged in social work, in which she believes she is successful. She says: "I am happy in doing work I love and the whole-hearted response of those with whom I am working."

As a child she had very little sex instruction. All that she can remember is her mother's warning that she need not be afraid when menstruation set in, as it was a natural thing, and that she was no longer "a little girl."

She recalls no sex feeling and no sex play as a child. She did not discover pleasure in handling sex organs until she was in the 20's. Then it was the result of familiarities on the part of a would-be lover. She had no intense emotional experiences with girls or women prior to college; she has formed several such relationships during and since college, but only two included overt homosexual expressions, and in both of these instances they were makeshifts in place of heterosexual relationships.

Her first heterosexual indulgence was with her *fiancé,* and was the result of spooning. When temporarily estranged from her *fiancé,* she indulged with another man. She says that in this instance it was just "plain cold 'reasoning'—the result of too much ill-digested reading of radical literature before mental maturity had been sighted." She is not ashamed of these relations. With reference to the first she writes: "It was known and acknowledged by both my *fiancé* and myself to several of our best and most respected friends (not parents, however)." The experiences have had no unfortunate effect on her life, "rather the contrary—since otherwise I had not known the joy of a love life—and every woman should." As to her reasons for not having married, she writes: "I waited too long. Because we each were not in a position to marry when first engaged, we satisfied the sex desire without marrying. When we *could* marry, the wonder and magic of the sex life were gone—in a way —and we let distance do the rest. Without having been legally

married at all, we had become like old married people—so by common consent we 'passed it up,' since no legal ties held us."

The section concerning sex problems is unanswered.

Apparently a psychopathic case. One of the very few in our group.

This is the case of a woman physician of 41 whose undergraduate work was done in a woman's college.

Although she says her physical health has been excellent all her life, she has had one nervous breakdown. She was obliged to give up her practice for a time, but now has resumed it. She considers that her life has been unhappy, unsatisfactory, and unsuccessful "because of emotional cravings that have not been satisfactorily manageable and because of mental conflicts."

She never had any active erotic experiences of any kind until after graduation from college.

She was given to excessive daydreaming in childhood and adolescence. The dreams were generally vague, but sometimes of marriage and children.

Her first recollection in sex matters was curiosity at the age of 6 as to where babies came from, on occasion of the birth of a baby brother. Later she discussed the matter with a little girl friend. She says her parents were "conventional puritans" in their attitude on sex matters. She was too reticent and prudish —"strangely repressed"—too much so to ask questions. At the age of 9 her mother told her very briefly of menstruation. "I thought it was disgusting and horrid." Under childhood problems she writes: "I was always upbraiding myself for not loving my brothers, but hating them." She does not say why. She recalls no sex feeling "as a rule" during childhood—only a *negative* sex feeling, an undue shyness toward boys and men, but she admits that occasionally she felt an impulse "to kiss *anyone* of either sex" and could not bear physical contact because of fear of this desire.

She never engaged in sex play. She always preferred girls to boys. She never knew that such a practice as masturbation

existed until she was 25 and a student in medical college. The practice was begun as a relief from nervous tension. She has believed it harmful and has consulted a psychoanalyst concerning it.

She has had only one homosexual experience. This was since college and was accompanied by a variety of overt practices. She was ashamed of it during the relationship and believed it mentally injurious because of the conflict with her ethical sense. It was discontinued on that account.

She never was closely associated with men. "Once a married man suddenly hugged and kissed me." It took a year for her to recover from the incident. She believes this was the cause of her beginning personal masturbation, and possibly of the overt homosexual practices.

When she was 24, a physician suggested intercourse. She declined and "suffered all that summer from uneasiness and ill-defined vague fears and dreads."

At the time of writing she was troubled with "auto-erotic day-dreaming, insomnia, fear of psychosis." She believes this due to "repressed hetero- and homosexuality, instead of healthy adjustment." She is trying to overcome it by psychotherapy and work.

She has always keenly regretted not marrying, but says she has shunned men and is not the type sought after by them.

CHAPTER XI

HOMOSEXUALITY—THE MARRIED WOMAN

I. *Numbers involved: characters of relationship: homosexual play in childhood: homosexual relations after marriage.*—In the preceding chapter we dealt with homosexual experiences among unmarried college graduates. This chapter, which considers the data furnished by the married women's questionnaire, is less satisfactory, largely due to the form of the questionnaire itself. The questions asked on this point were fewer in number and less definite than in the questionnaire for unmarried women. The answers were correspondingly more indefinite. On some points the material is that voluntarily furnished by the writers, not in answer to definite questions.

Section C of the questionnaire for married women is devoted to experiences from 14 years of age up to marriage. Question 8 asks concerning relations with other women as follows:

> Did you at any time before marriage experience intense emotional relations with any other woman; more than one?
> (a) Was this emotion with or without any physical expression?
> (b) Were these experiences associated with sex in your own mind at the time?

Section D inquires into experiences of married life. Question 9 asks:

> During your married life have you experienced intense emotional relations with other women? If so, how did this affect your relations with your husband?

Table I shows the answers to the first point of question 8.

Table II shows the groups into which the total of 306 women who answer "yes" in Table I is divided.

In answer to the second part of question 8, 115 women admit

TABLE I

DID YOU AT ANY TIME EXPERIENCE INTENSE EMOTIONAL RELATIONS WITH OTHER WOMEN?

	Number	Percentage of total group (1000)	Percentage of those answering (966)
Yes	306	30.6	31.7
No	660	66.0	68.3
Unanswered	34	3.4	.....
Total	1000	100.0	100.0

TABLE II

1. Intense emotional relations with women unassociated with consciousness of a sex experience and unaccompanied by physical expression other than hugging and kissing	149
2. (*a*) Intense relationship accompanied by mutual masturbation, contact of genital organs, or other physical expressions generally recognized as sexual in character	140
(*b*) Intense relations recognized at the time as sexual in character, but without expression other than hugging and kissing	17–157*
Total	306

* It will be noted that in the articles which have appeared in journals indicated we have given the number of overt homosexuals as 163. A further study led us to transfer 6 cases to the group of 149 who have had intense relations *without* overt practices, on the grounds that the evidence for placement in the overt group was not sufficiently strong.

intense emotional relations with more than one woman, but, due primarily to the faulty form of the question, very few of these specify the number of such relationships, contenting themselves with replying simply "yes."

In answer to question 8(b) only 92 women admit that at the time they recognized the experience as sexual in character. Of these, 75 belong to the group admitting overt homesexual practices. This is only 53.5 per cent of the entire group who admit such practices. It seems hardly possible that the others could escape such recognition, but so they state.

In answer to question 29 of Section D, only 18 women admitted that they had had intense emotional relations with other women after marriage.

In order to trace back, as far as possible, homosexual trends in childhood, we examined the answers to the questions as to sex play in pre-adolescence.

Section B. *Childhood to 14 Years* asks as follows:

16. Did you enter during childhood (up to 14 years) into any definite sex practices of any kind?
    (2) Sex play with other children of same or opposite sex (mutual handling of organs; playing at sex intercourse, etc.)?
        (a) What led you into this practice;
            Was it spontaneous or suggested by others?
        (b) At what age did you begin?
        (c) How long did you continue?

It will be noted that we failed to ask definitely for differentiation between the sexes of the children played with.

Two hundred and forty-two women replied affirmatively to question 16(2). Of these only 165 stated that the sex play was with other girls.

Table III shows the subsequent experiences of this group.

Comparing this table with Table IV of the preceding chapter we are struck at once by two great differences—first by the much higher per cent of the unmarried women (27.5 as against 16.5) who report homosexual play as children. As has already been suggested, a partial explanation may be in the greater definiteness of the questionnaire for the unmarried. Second, by the fact that only 48.2 per cent of the unmarried women indulging in homosexual play in childhood report dropping these interests after adolescence as against 65.5 of the married.

We found among the unmarried that 27.5 per cent of the women who engaged in overt homosexual practices *began* after college, that the average age of the unmarried at time of reporting was 36.8 years and that the average age at marriage of the married group was 25.7.

TABLE III

SEX PLAY, PRIOR TO ADOLESCENCE, WITH OTHER GIRLS—MUTUAL HANDLING OF SEX ORGANS, PLAYING AT SEX INTERCOURSE, ETC.

	No.	%
Total indulged in these plays with other girls	108	65.5
Dropped homosexual interests after adolescence	23	13.9
Passed into Group I	34	20.6
Passed into Group II	330	100.0
Total		

INDULGED IN HOMOSEXUAL PLAY PRIOR TO ADOLESCENCE

	No.	%
H. I. (149 cases)	23	15.4
H. II. (157 cases)	34	21.6
Others (943 cases)	108	11.4
Total (1000 cases)	165	16.5

The average age of graduation from college of our unmarried group is 22.7 years. Thus they had been out of college on the average 14.1 years at time of reply. Taking the age given by the unmarried [1] women at graduation as a standard, the married college women were out of college on the average only three years before marriage. Their emotional life was then satisfied in the great majority of cases, whereas the lack of such satisfaction is certainly a most important factor in explaining the high percentage of such attachments formed by the unmarried after graduation from college.

But what effect, if any, had college life itself on the continuation of these practices?

Chart *A* presents graphically a comparison between the married women who had attended college and those who had not in respect to the continuance in adult life of childish sex play with other girls.

We note that there is less than 1 per cent difference between

[1] We did not ask for age at entrance and graduation from the married women.

the married women who had received college training and those who had not, who recall sex play in childhood.

If we break up these groups, however, we find very distinct differences.

Eighty-four and four tenths per cent of the women who never went to college did not continue homosexual play after adolescence. On the other hand, 59 9/10 per cent only of the group of those who went to college stopped homosexual practices altogether. The groups are too small, particularly when broken up, to admit of any mathematical handling, but the wide differences of percentages indicate the same trend which we find in other correlation tables, notably Table 3.

The 18 women who admitted homosexual relations after marriage form a group too small for statistical treatment. Yet Table IV, which presents certain facts in regard to the persons composing it, is interesting and suggestive.

In columns VIII and IX we have the individual answers to the question asked in Section D-28. "During your married life have you experienced intense emotional relations with other women? If so, how did this affect your relations with your husband?"

We failed to inquire definitely as to the type of relationship, that is whether it was purely emotional or extended to overt practices. In 5 cases only did the answer to part one of the question say more than "yes."

Column IX shows that in exactly half the cases the wives report that the experience had no effect on marital relations. In 5 of these 8 cases, these relations are said to be happy. In the other 3 cases unhappiness is due to "differences on religious and financial matters," to "high temper," and to "high temper and my own poor housekeeping."

Of the 8 cases where some effect is noted, in 1 instance the intense friendship occurred after separation from husband; in one case the husband is "unresponsive;" in one case, where it is stated that this outside relationship almost broke up the home, "jealousy" is given as a cause for unhappiness; in one instance, where the wife says her friendship "made a mess of

TABLE IV

A GROUP OF WOMEN WHO HAD INTENSE EMOTIONAL RELATIONS WITH OTHER WOMEN AFTER MARRIAGE

Case number	I	II	III		IV	V	VI	VII	VIII	IX	X
	Age at time of reply	Education	Age at marriage		Number of children	Practiced masturbation	Sex intercourse before marriage	Homosexual experience before marriage	I.E.R. with other women after marriage	Effect of homosexual experiences after marriage on happiness of married life	Happiness of married life
			Wife	Husband							
1.....	31	High-school graduate	20	23	2	No	Unans.	H. I.	Type ?	No effect	Decidedly so
2.....	40	College 2 yrs. Scientific school 4 yrs.	25	25	1	Yes	With *fiancé* only	Once in prolonged absence of *fiancé*, H. II.	Type ?	Occurred after separation from husband	Yes, while it lasted. He deserted her 17 months after marriage, due to his mental condition
3.....	33	High-school 2 yrs.	25	26	1	Yes	With *fiancé* only	No	H. II.	"Almost broke up our home"	Partially. Jealousy (whose not specified)
4.....	62	Academy	33	24	None	Yes	No	H. II.	Type ?	No effect	Not entirely in last 21 years. Differences on religious and financial matters
5.....	45	College graduate	28	26	3	Yes	No	H. II.	"One such experience only"	"Absorbed my attention, but had no significant effect"	Yes
6.....	52	High-school graduate	25	30	None	No	With *fiancé* only	No	Type ?	No effect	No. High temper (whose not specified)

TABLE IV (*continued*)

7	28	College graduate	24	35	None	Yes	No	H. II.	Type ?	"Made me care more for my husband"	Yes
8	31	College M.A.	24	26	None	Yes	Yes	H. II.	Type ?	No effect	Very
9	34	College graduate	26	20	None	Yes	No	H. I.	H. I. "Spiritual in character"	No effect	Yes
10	30	College	20	32	4	No	No	H. I.	Type ?	"Rather interrupted the stream of complete marital happiness"	On the whole
11	33	College	22	22	None	No	No	H. I.	H. I.	"Relationship had with desire and consent of husband"	Yes
12	36	College	27	35	2	Yes	No	H. I.	H. I.	"Due to lack of response by husband"	Not very, husband oversensual. "Sorry I married"
13	57	High school	26	26	None	Yes	No	No	Type ?	No effect	Very
14	29	College M.A.	24	25	1	Yes	No	H. II.	Type ?	"It made a mess of things"	Unhappy. Her own uncontrolled nerves the reason
15	28	College	25	27	1	No	No	H. II.	Type ?	No effect	Yes
16	30	College	22	27	2	Yes	Unans.	H. II.	Type ?	No effect	No. She admits she is poor housekeeper and high-tempered
17	44	College	29	43	1	No	No	H. I.	Type ?	No effect	Yes
18	44	College	26	31	3	No	No	H. II.	H. II.	"Seems sometimes to accentuate marital relations. Sometimes renders them slightly distasteful"	"Yes—so far as the sex relation is concerned"

things," she reported earlier in the questionnaire that her marriage was unhappy due to her own uncontrolled nerves; and in four instances the marriage relation was not on the whole unfavorably affected. Indeed, in one case the relationship was carried on with "the advice and consent" of the husband.

Column X, it should be noted, lists the answers to the question asked on Page 1 of the questionnaire as to happiness of married life, while question D–28 comes on the last page, far enough away not to suggest any necessary connection.

TABLE V

A COMPARISON IN CERTAIN PARTICULARS WITH THE TOTAL GROUP OF THE 18 WOMEN WHO ADMIT HOMOSEXUAL RELATIONS AFTER MARRIAGE

	Group of 18	Group of 1000	Dr. Hamilton's 100 women
Average age at reply	*38.2 yrs.*	38.3 yrs.	35.2 yrs.
College graduate	*72.2 per cent*	69.1 per cent	46 per cent
Age at marriage	*25.0 yrs.*	25.7 yrs.	.....
Age of husband at marriage	*27.6 yrs.*	29.0 yrs.	.....
No children	38.8+ per cent	20.8 per cent	.....
Gainfully occupied before marriage	*55.5* " "	60.1 " "	.....
Gainfully occupied after marriage	37.5+ " "	25.9 " "	45 " "
Health before marriage good	55.5– " "	74.1 " "	.....
Health after marriage the same	*66.6* " "	66.5 " "	.....
Health after marriage better	5.5– " "	19.0 " "	.....
Health after marriage worse	27.7+ " "	14.5 " "	.....
Recall sex feeling in childhood	*50.0* " "	48.1 " "	.....
Age at first sex impression—under 10 years	57.1+ " "	44.9 " "	.....
Sex play before 14 years of age (childhood)	38.8+ " "	24.2 " "	42.0 pr.ct.
Sex instruction in childhood from responsible source	14.2– " "	28.1 " "	54.0 " "
Happy in marriage	66.6– " "	87.2 " "	45.0 " "
I.E.R. before marriage	83.3+ " "	31.6 " "	26.0 " "
Masturbation	61.1+ " "	40.1 " "	74.0 " "
S.I. before marriage	23.5+ " "	7.1 " "	35.0 " "

Italicizing percentages in column for 18 signifies no significant difference in the two groups.

+ indicates significantly higher percentage for group of 18.

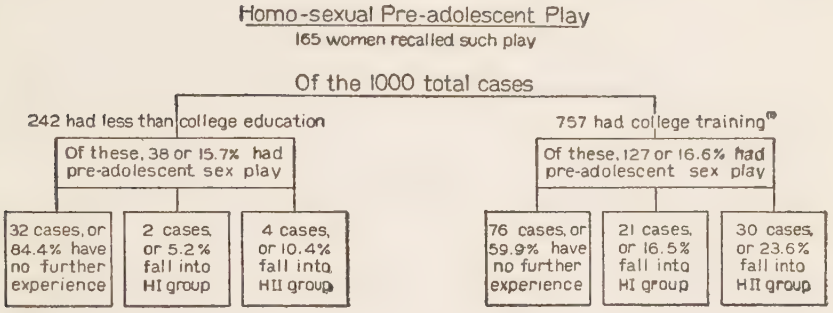
– indicates significantly *lower* percentage for group of 18.

In the group of 1000 the percentages are based on total number answering the particular question.

See tables presenting specific topics.

CHART A

CONTINUANCE OF PRE-ADOLESCENT HOMO-SEXUAL PLAY AS LATER HOMO-SEXUAL EXPERIENCE IN RELATION TO EDUCATION


Homo-sexual Pre-adolescent Play
165 women recalled such play
Of the 1000 total cases
242 had less than college education
757 had college training(a)
Of these, 38 or 15.7% had pre-adolescent sex play
Of these, 127 or 16.6% had pre-adolescent sex play
32 cases, or 84.4% have no further experience
2 cases, or 5.2% fall into HI group
4 cases, or 10.4% fall into HII group
76 cases, or 59.9% have no further experience
21 cases, or 16.5% fall into HI group
30 cases, or 23.6% fall into HII group

(a) Of these, 66 had only one to three years in college

In Table V we have compared the averages of these 18 women in 18 particulars with the averages of the entire 1,000 married women. It will be noted that in age, education, age at marriage, age of husband at marriage, engagement in gainful occupation before marriage, recollection of sex feeling in childhood and in an *unchanged* state of health *after* marriage, the percentage differences of the two groups are very slight.

The 18 women have a markedly higher percentage of childlessness, of those gainfully employed after marriage, of those both of worse health before marriage and change for the worse after marriage, in the number who recall sex expression in childhood before the age of 10 years and in homosexual experiences before marriage, masturbation, and sex intercourse before marriage.

They have a markedly lower per cent of good health before marriage and of change for the better after marriage. Only half as many in proportion received sex instruction in childhood from a responsible source and over 20 per cent more were unhappy in their married relations.

Here, then, are 18 women, of decidedly erotic tendencies, more than a third of them childless, physically less fit than the average of the entire group, who experienced intense emotional relations with other women after marriage.

The only other study with which we can compare as to homosexual practices is that of Dr. Hamilton. From the data furnished to us we find that 26 of his 100 married women have had intense emotional relations with other women before marriage.

For easy comparison we have added a column to Table V showing the admissions of his women on various points.[1]

We note that his percentage of women who report intense emotional relations, before marriage—*i.e.,* 26 per cent—differs from the 31.6 per cent for our entire group by only 5.6 per cent. This is not significant mathematically. All but 3 of our 18 cases had intense emotional relations before marriage. His group, however, has a significantly larger number who admit masturbation and sex intercourse before marriage.

The group is too small for conclusions of any sort, but it may indicate that investigations along the lines of the most marked differences suggested may be profitable so far as causal relations are concerned.

II. *Discussion of Correlation Tables*—Correlation Table 1 A shows in the first column the distribution of the 987 married women into four age periods. Columns 2 and 3 show the number of each age period who admit intense emotional experiences with other women both without (H I) and with (H II) overt expression.

We note that the percentages of those admitting these practices decrease as age increases, yet an application of the formula for determining significant differences shows that the differences are too slight to mean anything even between the extreme age groups. In other words, the group of women under 30 years do not report a significantly higher percentage of these practices than do the women 50 years and older.

[1] These also appear at the bottom of Table A in the Introduction.

CORRELATION TABLE 1

(A) PERCENTAGES IN THE VARIOUS AGE PERIODS AT TIME OF REPLY WHO REPORT HOMOSEXUAL PRACTICES

Age period	I		II		III		IV		V
	Total in each age period		H. I.		H. II.		"Others"—no homosexual experiences		Total % of each age group
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	
Under 30 years	190	19.3	36	18.9	36	18.9	118	62.2	100.0
30 to 39 years	411	41.6	64	15.6	70	17.0	277	67.4	100.0
40 to 49 years	250	25.3	32	12.8	40	16.0	178	71.2	100.0
50 years and over	136	13.8	17	12.5	11	15.5	108	72.0	100.0
Total answers	987	100.0	149	.....	157	.....	681	.....	.....
Unanswered	13	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	13	.....	.....
Total	1000	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	694	.....	.....

(B) PERCENTAGES OF THE VARIOUS I. E. R. EXPERIENCES IN EACH AGE GROUP

Age period	I		II		III		IV	
	Total in each age period		H. I.		H. II.		"Others"—no homosexual experiences	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Under 30 years	190	19.3	36	24.2	36	22.9	118	17.3
30 to 39 years	411	41.6	64	42.9	70	44.5	277	40.7
40 to 49 years	250	25.3	32	21.5	40	25.4	178	26.1
50 and over	136	13.8	17	11.4	11	7.2	108	15.9
Total answers	987	100.0	149	100.0	157	100.0	681	100.0
Unanswered	13	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	13	.....
Total	1000	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	694	.....

Table 1 B shows the same fact from a different angle. Here our percentages are based on a distribution of the number in the H I and H II groups among the age groups. Comparing in each case the number in the special group with the number in the entire group, there is again no significant difference.

Correlation Table 2 breaks up the total group on the basis of the average age at marriage within the special type of homosexual experience. We have also broken it up on a basis of education.

CORRELATION TABLE 2

HOMOSEXUAL EXPERIENCES AND AGE AT MARRIAGE

	College group (691)		Non-college group (309)		Total group (1000)	
	No.	Average age	No.	Average age	No.	Average age
H. I. group	127	26.6	22	27.0	149	26.7
H. II. group	133	27.7	24	25.2	157	27.3
"Others"	431	26.0	261	23.6	692	25.1
Total	691	26.4	307*	23.7	998*	25.7

* Two individuals failed to report age at marriage.

The numbers in the H I and H II groups of the non-collegiate women are too small to use statistically, but among the college graduates the difference of age at marriage of the H II group, that is 1.3 years as compared with the age of the total group, though small, is enough to be significant.

In Correlation Table 3 we compare education with homosexual experience. We find that, while 69.1 per cent of our 1,000 cases are college graduates, 77.7 per cent and 87.7 per cent, respectively, of the groups who admit homosexual experiences, with and without overt practices, have had a college education. This is certainly significant. Conversely, those without college degrees have a significantly lower membership in these two groups than their numbers in the total group would warrant. This is

CORRELATION TABLE 3

HOMOSEXUAL EXPERIENCES AND EDUCATION

Education	H. I.		H. II.		Others		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
College	127	77.7	133	84.7	431	62.1	691	69.1
College—less than 4 years	3		5		58		66	
High, normal and less	16	22.3	16	15.3	175	37.9	207	30.9
Private schools and tutors	3		3		29		35	
Unanswered	.....	.....	.....	.....	1	.....	1	.....
Total	149	100.0	157	100.0	694	100.0	1000	100.0

particularly true of the H II group, where the percentage of non-college women is only 15.3 per cent as against 30.9 in the entire group.

No special comments are necessary as to Table 4. There are

CORRELATION TABLE 4

HOMOSEXUAL EXPERIENCES AND HEALTH BEFORE MARRIAGE

	H. I.		H. II.		Others		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Less than good	37	24.9	35	22.3	187	27.0	259	25.9
Good and excellent	112	75.1	122	77.7	507	73.0	741	74.1
Total	149	100.0	157	100.0	694	100.0	1000	100.0

no percentage differences sufficiently large to be significant—that is, there is nothing to show that homosexual relations, even of the overt type, have effect on general health. In the preceding chapter this was shown to be true also of the unmarried college woman.

Apparently homosexual relations before marriage have no effect on the happiness of married life. Table 5 shows that the

CORRELATION TABLE 5

HOMOSEXUAL EXPERIENCES AND HAPPINESS OF MARRIED LIFE

	H. I.		H. II.		Others		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Happy	128	87.0	135	86.5	609	88.9	872	88.2
Unhappy	19	13.0	21	13.5	76	11.1	116	11.8
Total answers	147	100.0	156	100.0	685	100.0	988	100.0
Unanswered	2	.....	1	.....	9	.....	12	.....
Total	149	.....	157	.....	694	.....	1000	.....

differences are only 1.2 per cent and 1.8 per cent, respectively, amounts too small to be significant.

Homosexual relations after marriage might be expected to tell a different story. As has been shown on pages 302-303, only in 4 out of 18 cases is such a relationship shown to have an unfortunate effect.

Correlation Table 6 is important—Did previous homosexual relationship, particularly of the overt type, have any effect on the initial reaction to marital relations?

The small numbers into which our H I and H II break up make mathematical comparison for those groups impossible. But even if we take the total number, 304, available for comparison, those who have had intense emotional relations of any sort with other women, and compare it with the 689 who deny all such experiences, the difference is still too small to be significant.[1]

We cannot, therefore, show that such relationships before marriage have any tendency to affect the early relationships of married life.

The case is otherwise when we come to occupation before

[1] The difference in percentage is 5.9
2 x σ dif. = 8.2

CORRELATION TABLE 6

HOMOSEXUAL EXPERIENCES BEFORE MARRIAGE AND REACTION TO INITIAL MARITAL RELATION

Reaction	I		II		III		IV		V	
	H. I.		H. II.		Total I.E.R.		Others		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Pleasurable	91	61.0	97	62.5	188	61.8	467	67.7	655	65.9
Neutral	27		30		57		110		167	
Distasteful	16	39.0	14	37.5	30	38.2	94	32.3	124	34.1
Mixed	15		14		29		18		47	
Total answers	149	100.0	155	100.0	304	100.0	689	100.0	993	100.0
No sex relations during entire married life			1		1		1		2	
Unanswered			1		1		4		5	
Total	149		157		306		694		1000	

CORRELATION TABLE 7

HOMOSEXUALITY AND OCCUPATION BEFORE MARRIAGE

	H. I.		H. II.		Others		Totals	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Had a gainful occupation	95	64.6	102	65.4	400	56.4	597	60.1
No occupation	52	35.4	54	34.6	291	43.6	397	39.9
Total answers	147	100.0	156	100.0	691	100.0	994	100.0
Unanswered	2		1		3		6	
Totals	149		157		694		1000	

marriage. Here we find that the percentage difference of 9 in the group of those with erotic experiences of both the emotional and the overt types, as compared with the group without such

experiences, is sufficient to be certainly significant.[1] Apparently those women who go out into the world to work, like those who go to college, are more apt to form such attachments.

The importance now attached to childhood experiences as causal in regard to later conduct gives particular interest to Table 8.

CORRELATION TABLE 8

HOMOSEXUAL EXPERIENCE AND SEX FEELING IN CHILDHOOD

	H. I.		H. II.		Others		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Yes	81	57.0	100	66.2	280	42.0	461	47.9
No	61	43.0	51	33.8	386	58.0	498	52.1
Total answers	142	100.0	151	100.0	666	100.0	959	100.0
Unanswered	7		6		28		41	
Total	149		157		694		1000	

Remembrance of childhood feeling is something that varies greatly with the individual and which it is believed can be stimulated better by other forms of inquiry than by the questionnaire method. We can only present what we have.

Nearly one-half the women who answered the question, or 47.9 per cent, recalled sex feeling in childhood. In the groups, however, who later had homosexual experiences we find considerable variation.

Among the 142 in the H I group of the 149 who answered the question, 57 per cent recall such feeling; in the H II the percentage rises to 66.2 per cent, while in the group without any experiences it drops to 42 per cent. The differences, therefore, are large and certainly significant.

Among those who admit the practice of masturbation as shown in Table 9, it will be seen at once that the percentage differences are large as between H I, H II, and others.

[1] $65.4\% - 56.4 = 9\%$
$2 \times \sigma$ dif. $= 6.8$

CORRELATION TABLE 9

HOMOSEXUALITY AND MASTURBATION

Masturbated	H. I.		H. II.		Others		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Yes	63	43.4	91	58.7	227	34.7	381	40.0
No	82	56 6	64	41.3	424	65.3	570	60.0
Total answers	145	100.0	155	100.0	651	100.0	951	100.0
Unanswered	4		2		43		49	
Total group	149		157		694		1000	

Women who form homosexual relationships in either form indulge in masturbation in a significantly higher percentage of cases.

III. *Case Histories.*—As in the preceding chapter, we present here extracts from case histories which illustrate several different points of homosexual experiences or raise important questions.

Cases 1, 5 and 6 deal at some length with college experiences.

Cases 4 and 7 believe that on the whole their experiences were helpful, while case 3 questions as to whether lack of complete satisfaction in the married relation may not be due to past homosexual experience.

Case 8 is one in which erotic experiences have been unfortunate in their results.

These histories all raise the question of what and how young girls are to be taught if, as most people believe, such experiences are to be avoided.

Case 1 describes the menace of a certain type of girl.

The writer is a woman 35 years old at the time she replied to the questionnaire. She graduated from college and from medical school and took up the practice of medicine, which she has continued up to the time of replying, with the exception

of three months at the time of her confinement. She married at 32 a man younger than herself. They have one child. The marriage has been a happy one. Marriage relations have always been pleasurable.

Her remembrance of sex matters in childhood is very vague. She believes she had considerable sex feeling and began masturbation before her fifth year. Also there was considerable sex play with other little girls until about 10 years. She had no instruction from anyone on matters of sex, and never asked her parents for information, although she had the desire to do so. She was not even forewarned or instructed as to menstruation, which began at 14.

Until within a few years before marriage she never desired or experienced any sex feeling for men. Then she felt a wish for a child and decided she would like to marry. She deliberately set about to attract men. She indulged in "spooning" for a year or two. She went "just to the heartless edge of arousing passion in the man and then withdrawing—a perfectly heartless experiment," in retrospect causing disgust with herself.

Fortunately for all concerned, her experimentation ended happily with the choice of the man who is now her husband.

Her homosexual experiences began while in college. Of these she writes:

"A girl's relation with other girls during her college life is a matter of great importance.

"On entering college I was besieged by one girl after another who would have liked an *intimate* friendship. Having no knowledge of such things and having led a healthy, sporting life, they seemed silly. Therefore, I got safely through until the third year. Then a girl forced herself upon me, just as I found, afterward, she had done many, many times before on other girls, and continued doing long after we parted company, for she is still doing it, even in middle life.

"She gradually taught me everything in the world of physical love that one's husband should teach. There was sexual irritation to full climax, etc. The practice of masturbation taught by her was continued for three years up to the age of 26.

"It all began so gradually, was so well planned. Coming to stay overnight, and making suggestions, talking love—making a fool of a girl think that she was the only one on earth. It took months, almost a year, but she won, and for three horrid years I believed her. Then as good fortune would have it for *me,* another girl came along that attracted her more, she having tired of me. Lately I have seen that girl—who married later—after their break came, and she said, 'Why didn't you tell me?' At that time I was bitter, and besides I felt it would do no good. Such girls are a menace to the community. They lead girls into love to the exclusion of all the world. Break up homes, etc.

"I find it is happening among young girls in their friendships and among older women.

"Perhaps publicity, letting people making such friendships know that other people know, would help them."

Case 2 raises the question as to whether *"there cannot be a very perfect form of love between women with sex intercourse."*

This woman was 46 years old at the time of reporting. She was a graduate of both college and normal and training school for teachers. After graduation she taught up to the time of her marriage. Her health up to the time of marriage was good "except weariness from overwork and too much responsibility."

Her first impression on the subject of sex came at the early age of 4 when an older boy taught her the mutual handling of sex organs. The practice was continued until she was 18. It never amounted to actual sex intercourse. She did not like it, but allowed it for his pleasure.

During the same period she played at sex intercourse with another girl of her own age. This took place at intervals until she was 15, at which time menstruation began.

She never had any sex instruction or information from any source and never sought for information from her parents.

Questions as to sex feelings and desires in girlhood are unanswered. That they existed is shown in her answers to questions as to specific practices. She never spooned. "It wasn't done in her set." The episode with the one boy as previously de-

scribed was her only heterosexual experience previous to marriage and that "was all on one side."

At 19 she began masturbation, which was continuous for five years.

Of her homosexual experiences she states that she had intense emotional relations with two women—both of which were associated with sex at the time. "One was purely physical—one was love of a very high type." Both experiences included physical expression. "I am not sure that there cannot be a very perfect form of love between women with sex intercourse. I do not know that it is good for the health. As a fact women are more attractive to me than men. I think it is because I have known well more women with whom I have had intellectual sympathy than men. I mean more women with brains than men with brains."

At 29 she married a man somewhat older than herself. Her married life was not a happy one. Her husband took no responsibility for family support. She found very little satisfaction in marital relations. "It was not easy to experience sexual climax in normal relations. It was hard on both of us."

After a time she feared there was "something wrong with his brain." She had a horror of having children under such circumstances. For two years there was practically no intercourse, though she says, "I really did care for him." She never did become pregnant, but after great anguish of mind she decided to divorce him for non-support. During this period she relieved the nervous tension under which she found herself by masturbation. After divorce she returned to teaching and says that it has taken up to the time of reporting to completely recover her mental equilibrium.

That she really was capable of experiencing normal sex feeling seems to be shown by an experience she relates as having occurred after her separation from her husband—in which she resisted "supreme temptation" from "a notable physician," apparently a married man, who himself held and tried to make her believe that the generally accepted social laws were "too strict and not good for the health."

Case 3 questions whether failure to reach an orgasm in the natural way may not be the result of homosexual experiences.

This is a happily married woman of 30. A college graduate, teacher in a private school before marriage at 25 to a man considerably older than herself. They have one child. Her first reliable information on sex matters came at 11 years from her mother. A man, an exhibitionist, had tried to masturbate her. The information given was apparently on account of this, but was very scanty; the mother's embarrassment was too great to overcome.

At about 10 years she began personal masturbation, which had continued with increasing frequency until it became a daily and sometimes a more frequent practice up to the age of 19 years. It was dropped then during a homosexual episode which lasted three years; then renewed at infrequent intervals up to the present.

As a child she indulged in daydreams and in sex play.

As a young girl she "experienced a desire for children that caused strong, physical pain in sex organs at sight of babies. Played much with little children. Much excitation and craving for self-induced sex pleasure—much daydreaming of men I was interested in, but no actual thought of intercourse."

There was no "spooning" before marriage even with her *fiancé*.

Before marriage she experienced intense emotional relations with many women "varying from crushes to more lasting affection." In two instances there was physical expression. The first was at 15 years, when a girl two years older taught her mutual masturbation. It was "suggested" by this girl, "but easily accepted by a passionate disposition and lack of understanding of its consequences." There was no realization in this case that it was a manifestation of sex.

The second experience occurred at 19, when she "dearly loved" an older woman. This she recognized as sexual expression.

Her marital relations have been pleasurable from the first because of her love for her husband, but they never produce an orgasm. Occasionally her husband has employed manipulation, which she has permitted "for his sake," not her own.

She fears that her homosexual experiences may be the reason she has no orgasm in ordinary sex relations.

Case 4 believes that her homosexual experience was helpful.

She is a woman 33 years old at time of reporting, who married when nearly 28 years a man of about the same age. She is a college graduate who never had a gainful occupation outside the home.

Her health was good up to a year before marriage, when exophthalmic goiter developed.

She recalls no knowledge of sex as a child before 10 years of age, when a child friend tried to explain sex intercourse—she was "more incredulous than disgusted. I could hardly believe nice people did so disgusting a thing."

She never tried to obtain any information on sex matters from her parents—"My mother has never at any time told me anything about it." She had no preparation for menstruation, which occurred at 13 years. A chum had told her about it, so it was expected.

As a child she engaged in no sex practices whatsoever.

Under Section C of the questionnaire—Fourteen Years to Marriage—she states that she never had any strong sex feeling or desires during this period. She says she was never attracted to young men—and never engaged in "spooning." "I was too shy and quiet."

In spite of her denial of sex feeling, she had an intense emotional experience with one woman. Whether this occurred during her college years or afterward is not stated. "This experience involved all that is meant by spooning and handling of sex organs." In her mind this was "absolutely" associated with sex. She writes: "I had never had beaux. I thought I should never marry and that this experience had come instead. Now I look upon it as of great benefit in having made the marriage relation natural from the beginning. The girl is and always will be my best friend and we look upon our past relations in the same way."

She had never indulged in personal masturbation.

Her belief that she would never marry to the contrary, she

did marry, and states that she has been happy ever since, although conditions have left much to be desired in certain directions.

She became pregnant almost immediately. Marital relations, while never repugnant, have been neutral rather than pleasurable. She never but once since marriage has experienced an orgasm.

Since the birth of the only child they have used contraceptive methods, as her health would not permit another pregnancy. Her health has been continuously poor since marriage. A goiter has been removed, followed by a period of extreme nervousness lasting three years. She has also had scarlet fever, influenza, pneumonia, and empyema.

At the time of reporting her health was slowly improving and with this had come more pleasure in marital relations.

Case 5 admits that she herself was the aggressor.

This woman of 35 is a college graduate. She was a teacher until her marriage at 27 to a man a little younger. Before marriage her health was alternately good and poor. She was a "high strung, sickly child, due to too much imagination, over-study, and too little fresh air and play. Better during adolescence. Nervous breakdown at college due to over-study and over-activity in other lines."

At 12 years another little girl gave her certain "very sketchy" sex information which interested her very much and which she supplemented from the encyclopedia.

She does not recall any sex feelings or impulses during childhood, nor did she engage in any sex practices. She never sought sex information from her parents or other adults, and received no sex instruction of any kind. Her knowledge of menstruation came at 13 years from another child. She felt "violent resentment. That resentment and sense of indignity persist to this day."

From 15 years on she gained some knowledge of sex matters from "a few dirty stories, the actions of my beaux, and the ob-

scene portions of the Bible, Rabelais, etc. I grew to suppose sexual lapses were a matter of course with most persons."

At 15 she began "spooning"—which was continued at intervals until marriage. Of the results of this she writes concerning sex intercourse: "I drifted toward it gradually throughout the period from 15 to 25. At the latter date, circumstances and my own nature betrayed me."

Before her engagement to the man now her husband she had had sex relationships with two men—a single incident in one case. It was after these experiences that she met the man she married. She describes herself at this period as follows: "Assaying myself, I knew that I was a passionate woman—to some extent a weak one. I could never endure to live a fast life or a loose one. My usefulness, my peace of mind, everything would be destroyed by such an eventuality." Before their betrothal she told her prospective *fiancé* her whole story.

The marriage has been a very happy one, based on strong physical attraction and a large number of mental congenialities. Her marital relations have been "pleasurable" always. She has two children.

Her homosexual experiences had occurred while in college. We give her own story of these, together with her views of this relationship in colleges. She speaks from experience.

"At college, I fell in love twice. The first time was with a girl for whom I have now the highest respect, as I view her in retrospect. She loved me, and I think that she understood me. When my passion for her passed conventional bounds, she submitted to be manhandled by me, more in compassion for me than for any pleasure for herself. I was rather a beast to her. And she was a very splendid friend to me. I caused her a great deal of grief and shame.

"That ended when she was graduated, and then I fell again in love, this time with a girl who really had a very selfish and insincere character—a flirt—but I idealized and idolized her beyond all bounds. She seemed to me the purest, most innocent, most exquisite creature that God ever made. I respected her innocence. She never learned anything earthy from me. It

may seem silly to say, but this for this girl was my grand passion. She was a boyish girl; we had the most radiant and spotless of comradeships. I have never, before nor since, felt for any man the rapture and ecstasy and self-immolating devotion that I felt toward that girl. When, after a long, long time, it began to dawn on me that she was not on the square with me; that there were half a dozen girls who felt toward her as I did; and that she liked to receive what we gave and to give nothing of value to any of us in return I quit. The process of disillusionment was long and painful. It left a scar on me that none of my relations with men have ever left.

"I also had slightly improper physical relations with two other girls preceding this last affair—none following it. These had no emotional content—or sentimental, either. One was my chum before college. One was my best friend in freshman year at college (not my roommate). The impropriety consisted in my often sleeping with these girls and handling them too familiarly until both of us received pleasure and relief, they by being touched and I by touching them. I was the aggressor in both cases, and in the case mentioned above (number one). (You understand that there was no physical indulgence in case two, above?) Oddly enough, I always preserved my own person absolutely inviolate from women. For me to have let any girl do to me the things I did to them would have shocked me beyond recall. Rather caddish, wasn't I?

"You don't ask for anything but personal experience, but I am going to give you something else, on a venture. I am absolutely certain that such experiences as I have just cited exist very much more commonly than people suppose, both in girls' boarding-schools and (still more frequently) in women's colleges. They take in everything from the too-exquisite passion I have described, down to far more earthy and unsentimental physical indulgences than the worst that I have experienced. I am sure of this, not only from what I observed at college, but from what I observed during two years as a dormitory teacher in a girls' boarding-school. Moreover, such experiences—particularly the more etherealized ones—are common among girls of the highest

possible type. In fact, all the girls involved above were girls of high type, what people call 'nice girls,' from cultured homes, like my own.

"I regard the ethereal type—what may be called the 'adoration,' though the popular name is 'crush'—as much more dangerous to the girls' welfare and happiness than the purely earthy manifestation of thwarted sex. My chum (above) is still my chum. We are both happily married. But the girl I adored is still unmarried and still has her train of women adorers. Sometime one of them will blow out her own brains with a revolver, as two girls I know of did, for hopeless love of each other. You may know of the case to which I am referring.

"I 'thought through' my experience to a sane conclusion; but not all women can. It seems to me this sea ought to be charted: not merely posted around the edges with bell-buoys. For women will embark on it, danger signals or no danger signals. What they need is a chart, to help them sail a safe course back to the familiar seas.

"I believe in the woman's college, for I believe its benefits outweigh its perils; but I do think the peril should be sensibly recognized and so far as possible rendered less perilous."

She summarizes the effects of her heterosexual experiences previous to marriage as follows: "The effects of spooning on my personality I regard as unfortunate; coarsening and degrading. I remember them with shame and regret. Oddly enough, I do not have the same feeling toward my acts of actual illicit sexual intercourse. Since I succeeded in winning the game of sex, after all, I look back on these events as of value in developing my mind and moral character. If I could efface them, spooning included, I suppose I would. But I don't know that my life would be as full and rich, or my marriage as happy as it is had I never gone through and won out against these experiences."

Case 6 believes that her homosexual experience was responsible in part at least for delay in marrying.

This woman of 55 is a college graduate who was a private secretary before her marriage at 36 to a man several years

younger than herself. Her health up to her marriage was always good, even "under great strain." Since marriage there has been "increasing physical disability due to a weak heart." She has one child, and only the one pregnancy. The marriage has not been a happy one owing to "total difference in point of view, family habits, and almost pathological inability of husband to meet everyday requirements of normal life."

From the first, adjustment to marital relations was difficult. She had never had any instruction or information concerning the physical side of married life; she was repelled by the fact that her husband desired relations as a routine matter once or twice in the twenty-four hours while she had believed they should come as "the climax of emotional ecstasy."

For the first eight or ten years of married life she yielded to his desires, sometimes experiencing pleasure. In later years sex relations have been impossible, due to the condition of her health.

She recalls little if anything of sex experiences as a child. Her first information came from books—novels, plays, etc., as she grew older. Her only instruction from her mother was concerning menstruation at age of 14.

From childhood to marriage she was conscious of "frequent spontaneous excitation of sex organs" without manipulation.

As a girl she was "abnormally shy and believed myself too ugly to be liked by men."

Her only experience in "spooning" was "with one man whom I loved before marriage." This did not lead to sex intercourse.

Concerning her homosexual experience, she says: "In college several older women approached me with what, owing to an affair at the time, I knew to be perverted sex appeal. It repelled me unspeakably. About six years later I experienced the strongest love of my life for a much older woman who had had at least three such passions before. My whole life was deranged. I accepted her judgment for a time completely. I furnished her means of excitation, consciously preventing any in myself. During the period this lasted I was approached by unconscious girls whom I was able to steer off the abnormality by what I had learned from my own experience. I believe that this goes in

waves and is much practiced where women live in groups. Nothing is worse, and even when there is no physical relation this form of love is of the worst possible effect on girls. I have seen many lives wrecked.

"My feeling about my own experience is that it would have been utterly degrading, but that I had an intense and unselfish love for the woman and that my relation to her involved an almost complete sacrifice of my own interests. I pulled out of the relation partly because I saw that it was hopeless, partly because the physical side which always repelled me grew intolerable. I believe that all women should know that this thing exists and should guard against its faintest expression. In most women when love once starts it, habit continues it. In my own case the strength of my love swept me off my feet, but I never believed that it was right or decent and when love lessened no temptation remained. Then it never gave me physical gratification.

"I write at length because my experience is paradoxical and yet I believe it is true of very many others. As in this case, so with the practice of sexual excitation, it had no outside cause and apparently coexisted with a rigid fastidiousness which prevented any general sex indulgence."

Of the effects on herself of her sex experience before marriage, she writes: "So far as I can honestly see, the only effect on my life of my experience was *to delay marriage* by tying me to a woman and a man (emotionally not physically) whom I could not marry."

Case 7 is a young woman of 30 who admits masturbation, homosexuality, and sex intercourse before marriage.

She is a college graduate who engaged in teaching up to the time of her marriage at 28. Her husband is a few years older than herself. They have one child a year old. The marriage is a happy one. She has always been in excellent health and continued her teaching until within four months of the birth of her child.

At about 11 years a schoolmate gave her a vague description

of the sexual act. This aroused extreme curiosity—which she satisfied by studying the Bible, the dictionary, and a medical book called *The Cottage Physician.* At 6 she had asked her mother where babies came from, and had been told she was too young to understand. At about 9 she longed to have a baby. "I used to put a pillow between my knees as recommended in *The Cottage Physician* and pretend to be having one." At 12 years of age she read a letter in the back of *Harper's Bazar* from a mother asking what to do for her children to break up the habit of masturbation. She looked up the word in the dictionary, tried it, and later taught it to a younger sister, who told their parents. A serious talk from her father stopped it until she was much older.

Apparently, though not definitely so stated, her homosexual relationships began at college. She states that she had intense emotional relations with many women with all possible forms of physical expression and always connected in her mind with sex.

At 19 she began masturbation again, and continued it until 25. She writes: "After I left college and no longer had any woman lover at home, except at rare intervals, I practiced it for emotional relief whenever sexually excited."

At 25 she indulged in sex intercourse with two men before she met the man who is now her husband. She did this deliberately, as she came to "the decision that I did not wish to miss so important a part of life." It was done experimentally and "was in the nature of a beautiful episode."

With her husband she engaged in sex intercourse for a year and a half preceding marriage "whenever possible; when not possible I indulged in mutual masturbation with women."

She became pregnant once and had an abortion "performed by a good and skillful physician, as I was afraid of the effect on my family of having a child before marriage."

Of the effect of these experiences on her own personality she says of her childish experiences of masturbation, "I thought it wrong and it had a disintegrating effect." Of her later experiences of homosexual relations and personal manipulations she

states that "I am a very strong and healthy person. I think it acted as a safety valve." Of the sex intercourse episodes: "They gave me great pleasure, awakened my sensuous side, and quickened my appreciation."

Case 8 is the one case among the married women where both the sensual and emotional aspects of sex appear to be decidedly abnormal after marriage.

A woman of 30, a college graduate, married at the age of 22½ years to a man a few years older. They have had three children, two of whom are living. One pregnancy had to be terminated on account of her physical condition. She is unhappy in her married life, although she loves her husband, because she says she "is a poor housekeeper and her husband is high tempered and exacting." She began teaching before marriage and continued it on part time, apparently tutoring, for the first five years after marriage. Up to marriage her health was good. Since then it has been fair, but she has "absolutely no energy and little enthusiasm in life." She describes herself as "lazy, nervous, unhappy, discontented and brainless."

She recalls that as a child aged about 6 two boy cousins showed her their sex organs and attempted intercourse. "It was exciting but later made me ashamed and unhappy." At 7 girl playmates taught her masturbation. This included mutual manipulation of organs as well as cunnilingus. These practices elicited pleasurable sensations and by 10 years of age the habit of personal masturbation had become fixed. It was indulged in about twice a week until marriage, and since then in the absence of her husband. She believes the practice largely responsible for her physical nervousness and for incapacity to concentrate, vacillation, etc.

In answer to the question concerning sex feelings and practices during childhood (up to 14 years) she admits spontaneous excitation of organs, pleasure in handling organs, desire for sex excitement, curiosity about sex affairs of parents and other adults, and strong attraction to boys and men. She was interested in watching for the copulation of animals and in getting hold of literature dealing with sex matters.

She never had any sex information from any responsible source as a child, nor instruction from her parents. She never went to them for information. Her only preparation for menstruation, which occurred at 13, was from other girls. It aroused in her feelings of shame.

During her girlhood the sex feelings begun in childhood persisted. She had intense emotional relations with both school and college mates (girls and women), some with and some without physical expression. After describing the most emotional of these she writes "After twelve years I love that girl in a way totally different from any other. Knowing her to be far below many of my best friends mentally and morally and feeling that the affair was nothing to be proud of, I still love her in that strange way."

Summing up her experiences she says: "I would like more than I can express to overcome and account for this peculiar obsession which has worried me since a mere child. Certain people of both sexes and all ages (except old) produce an emotional effect upon me which keeps me keyed up, nervous, thinking and dreaming of nothing but them night and day—incapable of accomplishment while capable of the greatest pieces of foolishness. I cannot control these affairs. Thank goodness I believe they are growing less frequent. At 25 a boy of 12 'got me going.' I was teaching him a part in an operetta. It lasted months. At 27 a girl of 15 whom I was tutoring affected me in the same way. I wanted to kiss and hug them and be with them all the time—never happy save in their company—always excitedly ecstatic if they were near. I knew this was crazy, unworthy of a wife and mother, but couldn't overcome it till it left of its own accord."

The questions as to sex intercourse before marriage are unanswered.

She denies "spooning" except with one man. In this case it never went further than hugging and kissing. Her understanding of sex matters, however, made her think marriage would be "attractive" as it would "stifle" craving, satisfy desire and

stop masturbation. In fact, it was a very strong incentive toward marriage—entirely too much so."

She had no adequate preparation for marriage and was repelled by the manner in which the married sex relations came into her experience. She thought her husband "a brute" and was shocked at his intense passion. He desired intercourse every night—sometimes two or three times. She found it very distasteful during the earlier years. Later it became neutral and now is becoming pleasurable as she believes it "necessary to well-being, both physical and mental."

Her most serious present problem is that "while I love my husband other men attract me and I long for their caresses, admiration, love, and company. The last affair of this kind has lasted five years. I see him seldom, wouldn't give up husband and home for him—nor would he—still we are attracted to each other, I am sure. Why? I am happy every time I see him, dream of being in his arms and yet prefer my husband. We have never exchanged a word on the subject, the man and I, but *looks* we have, and tones of voice can tell as much as words. I *don't* want and I *do* want to put him out of my life that with him it appears would be happiness, youth, and romance."

CHAPTER XII

OPINION AND EXPERIENCE

The questionnaire for unmarried women who are college graduates concludes with a section entitled "Opinions." A note explains that this section was prepared for use in a questionnaire for married women, but, because of the widespread discussion of the matters under inquiry, the opinions of the unmarried were desired also. Those replying are asked to consider each question in the light of knowledge gained from whatever source, and to answer according to their honest belief, regardless of whether it conforms to generally accepted beliefs or not.

The questions comprising this section follow:

1. Do you believe sex intercourse necessary for complete physical and mental health?
   Do you think this is true for all men? For all women?
2. Is a young man before marriage ever justified in having sex intercourse?
   If so, under what conditions?
   Is a young woman ever so justified?
   If so, under what conditions?
3. Is a husband ever justified in having sex intercourse with a woman or women other than his wife?
   If so, under what conditions?
   Is a wife ever justified in having sex intercourse with a man or men other than her husband?
   If so, under what conditions?
4. Are married people justified in having intercourse except for the purpose of having children?
   Kindly give reasons for your reply.
5. Is it right to use methods for the prevention of pregnancy (birth control)?
   Kindly give reasons for your reply.

6. Should information regarding methods for birth control be available for all married people?
   Unmarried people? Kindly give reasons for your reply.
7. Should an abortion ever be performed?
   If so, under what conditions?
8. What is your attitude toward prostitution?
9. Should boys and young men receive instruction with regard to sex matters?
   If so,
   (a) From whom?
   (b) At what age should it begin?
   (c) What should be its main items?
10. Should girls and young women receive instruction with regard to sex matters?
    If so,
    (a) From whom?
    (b) At what age should it begin?
    (c) What should be its main items?

It may seem that only married women are qualified to answer some of these questions and that they are better qualified to answer all of them than are unmarried women. However that may be, on an average about 1,000 of the 1,200 unmarried women who replied to the questionnaire gave their views on this section as well. The value of the opinions expressed may be challenged on various grounds: They come from a special group, a small class in our population. Perhaps their answers are untruthful, or at best may represent merely fleeting thoughts which on mature reflection might have been discarded. They may have been colored by some striking experience that occurred just about the time of their reply. They may be purely emotional, resting on neither knowledge nor experience.

If the compilers of this questionnaire were looking for authoritative data on the matters submitted, the wisdom of seeking it from unmarried women, who for the most part are without even scientific knowledge of the subjects discussed, might be seriously challenged. But they entertained no such purpose. They regarded these views as an index of current feeling and thought, a reflection of the mores of today and yesterday, as val-

uable evidence of the systems of ideas and beliefs regarding sex which dominate an intelligent, educated group of women.

That widely differing opinions would be voiced by persons drawn from all over the country, ranging in age from 22 to 68, subjected to a variety of influences and experiences, was anticipated. It was not surprising to discover that the half dozen or so questions involving ethical points are answered conventionally or conservatively by a considerable majority. An unexpected by-product of this section was an undercurrent of feeling which the replies often revealed. The emotional connotations of sex are varied indeed. To some its aspects are delightfully intimate or deeply sacred, a normal craving to be gratified legitimately. To others, sex appears disgusting, one of life's obscene chapters, best expunged; read, if need be, with shame and loathing. Still others find in it a great and terrible force, safe only if leashed; a biological necessity, perhaps, but in rather poor taste. While deprecating its irresistible nature, they voice charity for its victims. An unhappy number find it tempting but dangerous, a satisfaction tinged with guilt or cloaked in mystery. To a substantial quota it appears remote, a problem to others, of no concern to them.

Diversity of opinion on the several questions asked appears entirely natural, but how shall we account for this diversity of feeling on a common, inescapable aspect of life? The individual differences of age, home, and religious training, and contact with life, would seem to be outweighed by the mass similarities—a uniform biological law, homogeneity of race, nationality, and higher education. Would a study of another instinct, hunger, unearth such a range of attitudes, or is sex a stepchild among the instincts forced too often to seek furtive satisfaction?

Inasmuch as the relationship between opinion and experience is the direct object of our study, discussion of these special features must be deferred until the tabulated returns have been presented.

The first of our ten questions on opinions asks, Do you believe sex intercourse necessary for complete physical and mental

health? Six hundred and twenty-two women (61.2 per cent) reply in the negative, and 394 (38.7 per cent) in the affirmative Nearly 200 fail to answer the question, or answer so vaguely that their replies cannot be classed with either group. Percentages are based on the number replying definitely. The complete table follows:

TABLE I

DO YOU BELIEVE SEX INTERCOURSE NECESSARY FOR COMPLETE PHYSICAL AND MENTAL HEALTH?

	No.	%
Affirmative		
Yes	174	
Emphatic	4	
With specific qualification	145	
With general comment	19	
Dubious	52— 394	38.7
Negative		
No	459	
Emphatic	25	
With general comment	104	
Dubious	34— 622	61.2
Total answering definitely	1016	100.0
Non-committal	33	
Don't know	68	
Unanswered	83	
Total	1200	

Reasons for holding the opinion expressed are not called for. That a conventional view predominates is not surprising. It would be interesting to know why more than one-third of the group advance a counter opinion.

The following sampling of the different views expressed indicates some prevalent trends. Some of those replying affirmatively say: "Perhaps so, if the accent is on the word *complete;* not for fairly good physical and mental health." Several regard sex intercourse as necessary for *mental* health, for complete comfort and efficiency, or happiness. One woman writes, "For a complete life, yes; for complete health, no." Some feel that

"suppression of the sex instinct causes nervousness found so much among older unmarried women." Others, on the contrary, feel that creative energy can be used in other ways. Many qualify their affirmative:

"For some types."
"For men, not sure about women."
"Not with normal people."

A woman who writes, "I do not know," adds, "I believe it tends to lessen nervous tension in women."

"I believe there is a restlessness that is said to be due to desire for sex intercourse. As a matter of fact, I think many women would be better off to have the experience and set their minds at rest as to what it is all about. It is a feeling of losing out on something, I thoroughly believe, rather than passion. This might apply to men too."

Many who answer this question in the negative qualify their opinion by adding such expressions as the following:

"Not necessary, but normal."
"Not necessary, but desirable or preferable."
"No, but it might round out one's life."
"Categorically, no. However, I believe if once experienced there cannot be the *completest* mental health without the normal, healthy satisfaction of the sex desire, and that 'sublimation' is a slow and difficult business. I do not believe any individual is well-rounded who has not had a normal sex-life."
"No, but people who do not have it seem harsh and shriveled up."
"No, but I believe if I were well mated the strain of sex would be relieved and my mind would be free for other interests."
"No, but I believe it is more difficult without sex intercourse."

A number answer, "No, for other outlets are possible." Several think that creative work is much the same in its effects. Some

"cannot answer this on any grounds but the moral. No."

"Not in the divine plan."
"Not necessary if the higher nature is strong enough to control."
"I have no doubt that some men and women have been made ill by their unsuccessful efforts to repress sexual desires. Nevertheless, I do

not believe in such people's gratifying desire by illicit intercourse, because physical and mental health are not the *chief* values in life. They are great values, to be sure, but the cause of civilization is a higher value. The moral laws are wise, and it is better for the progress of the world that humanity control these desires, rather than indulge them wrongfully. It's better to be sick than do wrong. Moreover, intercourse is not always the cure for physical and mental ills due to sex troubles. A competent authority says that there are as many nervous married people as unmarried." (Jackson and Salisbury *Outwitting Our Nerves.*)

"No, but with poor early training and lack of marriage opportunities it may be necessary for some."

"No. This should be true of all unmarried persons, but some inherit stronger instincts than others and the will to control these instincts is not strong, so I suppose some people in this case would say yes to this type, but personally I would still say no."

In other sections of the questionnaire we have statements of sex practices engaged in by the group. Some of those replying may not have admitted certain practices. Some, though this seems less likely, may have claimed practices not actually indulged in. It is at least possible that the answers are truthful, and surely it is no more scientific to assume them false than true. In any event, we shall seek to discover the degree of association between the statements given of opinions held and the practices indulged in. These opinions will be correlated also with any other factors that presumably may relate to them.

Considering in turn the relation which the opinions held may bear to sex practices, we note from division A of Table II that of the 394 replying affirmatively, 286 (76.0 per cent) practiced masturbation, while of the 622 replying negatively, 338 (59.5 per cent) practiced. This difference of 16.5 per cent, tested mathematically, is found significant.

A less striking difference is observed in regard to homosexual tendencies. From division B of the same table we note that of the 394 affirmative cases, 214 (55.0 per cent) give indication of homosexual tendencies or practices, and that of the 622 negative only 3.9 per cent less are found in the homosexual group.

A particularly close association might be looked for between

TABLE II

SEX PRACTICES CORRELATED WITH OPINION AS TO NECESSITY OF SEX INTERCOURSE FOR COMPLETE PHYSICAL AND MENTAL HEALTH

Sex practices	Affirmative		Negative		Total answering definitely	Unanswered or indefinite	Grand total	
	No.	%	No.	%			No.	%
A. Masturbation								
Practiced	286	76.0	338	59.5	624	109	733	66.0
Never practiced	90	23.9	230	40.4	320	57	377	33.9
Total answering definitely	376	100.0	568	100.0	944	166	1110	100.0
Unanswered as to masturbation	18		54		72	18	90	
Total group	394		622		1016	184	1200	
*B. H. I.—H. II.**								
In H. I. or II. groups	214	55.0	314	51.1	528	77	605	51.1
Not in H. I. or II. groups	175	44.9	300	48.8	475	103	578	48.8
Total answering definitely	389	100.0	614	100.0	1003	180	1183	100.0
Unanswered as to H. I.—H. II	5		8		13	4	17	
Total group	394		622		1016	184	1200	
C. Sex Intercourse								
Indulged in sex intercourse	83	22.9	29	5.3	112	24	136	12.7
Never indulged in sex intercourse	279	77.0	512	94.6	791	137	928	87.2
Total answering definitely	362	100.0	541	100.0	903	161	1064	100.0
Unanswered as to sex intercourse	32		81		113	23	136	
Total group	394	38.7	622	61.2	1016	184	1200	
Adult sex experiences denied or unanswered	47	22.8	159	77.1	206	44	250	

* H. I. =Homosexual experiences without overt practices.
H. II. =Homosexual experiences with overt practices.

an affirmative opinion on the necessity of sex intercourse and the practice of sex intercourse. From division C of Table II a difference of 17.6 per cent may be noted in the affirmative and negative groups who have indulged in sex intercourse. As the numbers in both groups are less than 100, the significance of this difference cannot be tested mathematically, yet it is large enough to suggest a relationship between these two factors.

The foregoing series of tables has shown what percentage of those expressing affirmative or negative views have engaged in illicit sex practices. The series which follows will show what per-

centage of those engaging in these practices hold affirmative or negative views.

TABLE III

SEX PRACTICES CORRELATED WITH OPINION AS TO NECESSITY OF SEX INTERCOURSE FOR COMPLETE PHYSICAL AND MENTAL HEALTH

Sex practices	Affirmative		Negative		Total answering definitely		Unanswered or indefinite	Grand total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%		No.	%
A. Masturbation									
Practiced	286	45.8	338	54.1	624	100.0	109	733	66.0
Never practiced	90	28.1	230	71.8	320	100.0	57	377	33.9
Total answering definitely	376		568		944		166	1110	100.0
Unanswered	18		54		72		18	90	
Total group	394	38.7	622	61.2	1016	100.0	184	1200	
*B. H. I.—H. II.**									
In H. I. or II. groups	214	40.5	314	59.4	528	100.0	77	605	51.1
Not in H. I. or II. groups	175	36.8	300	63.1	475	100.0	103	578	48.8
Total answering definitely	389		614		1003		180	1183	100.0
Unanswered	5		8		13		4	17	
Total group	394	38.7	622	61.2	1016	100.0	184	1200	
C. Sex Intercourse									
Indulged in sex intercourse	83	74.1	29	25.8	112	100.0	24	136	12.7
Never indulged in sex intercourse	279	35.2	512	64.7	791	100.0	137	928	87.2
Total answering definitely	362		541		903		161	1064	100.0
Unanswered	32		81		113		23	136	
Total group	394	38.7	622	61.2	1016	100.0	184	1200	
Adult sex experiences denied or unanswered	47	22.8	159	77.1	206	100.0	44	250	

* H. I. =Homosexual experiences without overt practices.
H. II. =Homosexual experiences with overt practices.

Of the 624 who practiced masturbation, 338 (54.1 per cent) do not believe sex intercourse necessary for complete physical and mental health. Of the 320 who never practiced masturbation, 230 (71.8 per cent) believe it unnecessary. Tested mathematically, this difference of 17.7 per cent proves significant. The table indicates further that the practice of masturbation introduces an element of greater doubt concerning this question than refraining from the practice, for in the group practicing we note

a difference of only 8.3 per cent in the affirmative and negative classification, while in the group which never practiced the difference is 43.7 per cent in favor of a negative attitude toward the necessity of sex intercourse. The negative attitude predominates over the affirmative, whether or not masturbation was practiced, but those who practiced fall 7.1 per cent below the negative proportion for the total group, while those who refrained from the practice are 10.6 per cent in excess of the percentage for the whole group.

In the group showing homosexual tendencies or practices, significant differences are not noted. The presence or absence of such tendencies seems to exert little influence on the holding of an affirmative or negative view.

The most striking association between sex practices and opinions is shown in division C of Table III. There we note that of the 112 who had indulged in sex intercourse, 83 (74.1 per cent) believe it necessary for complete physical and mental health, while of the 791 who never indulged, 279 (only 35.2 per cent) believe it necessary for health. Inasmuch as one of these groups numbers less than 100, the significance of this difference of 38.9 per cent cannot be tested. It is sufficiently high, however, to suggest a strong probability of a general tendency.

An examination of Tables II and III shows a close association between certain sex practices and the holding of an affirmative or negative view on the question whether sex intercourse is necessary for complete physical and mental health. Possibly age, health, happiness, and still other factors may also enter into these opinions. These will be presented in turn. Table IV correlates age with opinion:

The greatest percentage differences occur before 30 and after 50, but, owing to the fact that most of the groups in those extremes number less than 100, the significance of the differences cannot be tested mathematically. We may note merely that the percentage of affirmative becomes distinctly higher before 30 years of age and distinctly lower after 50. Whether this suggests changing conventions or that advancing years tend to a more conservative outlook is an open question.

TABLE IV

AGE CORRELATED WITH OPINION AS TO NECESSITY OF SEX INTERCOURSE FOR COMPLETE PHYSICAL AND MENTAL HEALTH

Age	Affirmative		Negative		Total answering definitely	Unanswered or indefinite	Grand total	
	No.	%	No.	%			No.	%
Under 30	99	25.1	128	20.6	227	29	256	21.3
30 to 39	187	47.4	287	46.3	474	80	544	46.2
40 to 49	80	20.3	128	20.6	208	48	256	21.3
50 or over	28	7.1	76	12.2	104	27	131	10.9
Total answering definitely	394	100.0	619	100.0	1013	184	1197	100.0
Unanswered as to age			3		3		3	
Total group	394	38.7	622	61.2	1016	184	1200	

The next two tables, bearing as they do on health, should stand in close relation to opinions on a matter of health:

TABLE V

HEALTH CORRELATED WITH OPINION AS TO NECESSITY OF SEX INTERCOURSE FOR COMPLETE PHYSICAL AND MENTAL HEALTH

Health	Affirmative		Negative		Total answering definitely	Unanswered or indefinite	Grand total	
	No.	%	No.	%			No.	%
Poor or fair	107	27.1	126	20.2	233	43	276	23.0
Good or excellent	287	72.8	495	79.7	782	141	923	76.9
Total replying definitely	394	100.0	621	100.0	1015	184	1199	100.0
Unanswered			1		1		1	
Total group	394	38.7	622	61.2	1016		1200	

A significant difference in the health of these groups may be observed. One hundred and seven (27.1 per cent) of those answering affirmatively were in poor or fair health, while of those replying negatively 126 (19.7 per cent) show a corresponding state of health, a difference of 7.4 per cent.

Evidence of better health in the negative group is reflected also in Table 6, relating to nervous ills, which shows a significantly higher percentage of nervous disorders in the affirmative group.

TABLE VI

NERVOUS BREAKDOWNS CORRELATED WITH OPINION AS TO NECESSITY OF SEX INTERCOURSE FOR COMPLETE PHYSICAL AND MENTAL HEALTH

Nervous breakdowns	Affirmative		Negative		Total answering definitely	Unanswered or indefinite	Grand total	
	No.	%	No.	%			No.	%
No breakdowns	252	64.6	429	69.3	681	129	810	68.0
Near breakdowns	49	12.5	72	11.6	121	21	142	11.9
Breakdowns	89	22.8	118	19.0	207	32	239	20.0
Total replying definitely	390	100.0	619	100.0	1009	182	1191	100.0
Unanswered	4		3		7	2	9	
Total group	394	38.7	622	61.2	1016	184	1200	

TABLE VII

HAPPINESS CORRELATED WITH OPINION AS TO NECESSITY OF SEX INTERCOURSE FOR COMPLETE PHYSICAL AND MENTAL HEALTH

Happiness	Affirmative		Negative		Total answering definitely	Unanswered or indefinite	Grand total	
	No.	%	No.	%			No.	%
Happy	256	68.6	489	83.5	745	142	887	78.3
Fairly happy	47	12.6	57	9.8	104	14	118	10.4
Neutral	27	7.2	11	1.8	38	8	46	4.0
Unhappy	43	11.5	28	4.7	71	10	81	7.1
Total answering definitely	373	100.0	585	100.0	958	174	1132	100.0
Unanswered	21		37		58	10	68	
Total group	394	38.7	622	61.2	1016	184	1200	

A significantly higher percentage of those replying negatively are happy, for, of the 622 so replying, 489 (83.5 per cent) are happy, whereas of the 394 replying affirmatively, 256 (68.6 per cent) are happy, 14.9 per cent less than in the negative group.

The type of college attended shows no significant difference for the affirmative and negative groups, inasmuch as 68 per cent of each group have attended women's colleges.

Inasmuch as opinions held in maturity may have been influenced to some extent by the nature of early sex information, Section II of the questionnaire dealing with the source and content of such information will be examined next.

TABLE VIII

TYPE OF COLLEGE CORRELATED WITH OPINION AS TO NECESSITY OF SEX INTERCOURSE FOR COMPLETE PHYSICAL AND MENTAL HEALTH

Type of college	Affirmative		Negative		Total answering definitely	Unanswered or indefinite	Grand total	
	No.	%	No.	%			No.	%
Women's college	269	68.6	422	68.0	691	122	813	68.0
Coeducational college or university	103	26.2	177	28.4	280	53	333	27.8
Undergraduate work at both	20	5.1	21	3.3	41	8	49	4.1
Total replying definitely	392	100.0	620	100.0	1012	183	1195	100.0
Unanswered	2		2		4	1	5	
Total group	394	38.7	622	61.2	1016	184	1200	

Persons interested in the sex education of children might glean much from these retrospective impressions of more than a thousand educated women. Many of the significant features of this early phase of their lives undoubtedly have become blurred; others may be falsified or forgotten. But if prehistoric animals may be "restored" from a thigh bone or a tooth, surely something of the mental and emotional evolution of these women may be glimpsed from the fragmentary evidence available.

Because the contents of this section on early sex information properly concern every home where there are children, they deserve more detailed treatment than is permissible merely in connection with their relation to opinions. Within the limits of this chapter only a few outstanding points may be treated independently of their direct bearing on opinion.

The source, content, and manner of imparting early sex information constitute one set of questions. To the first of these, 351 women, about one-third of those who answer definitely, reply that parents or, in a few cases, guardians, gave the earliest recalled information. But twice as many, 725, remember children, servants, and others as their first informants. Asked whether their parents *ever* gave them any sex information, 916 reply in the affirmative. If from these are deducted the 351 who received their first sex information from parents, it is seen that 565 of the parents who eventually gave information had

been anticipated by others. One such case writes that she received her earliest information from two girls who described the process of human reproduction in a "thoroughly vulgar way. Curiosity was increased. I felt utter revulsion and determined never to marry." She adds that her mother gave her "little information, and that unscientific; not anything I did not already know." The impressiveness of this figure (916) is further impaired when we discover that many received parental information only in their late adolescence or not until mature years, and that a very large number indeed received meager information. Menstruation was the only sex knowledge imparted to 244; the instruction of 130 centered about conduct, "chiefly warnings as to what not to do and how to protect myself from attack," one woman writes. Something about human reproduction was told by parents to 394, but only 133 received complete information. Only further compilations could show how many received instruction about human reproduction at an early age, when they asked about it and before they had picked it up in distorted fragments from undesirable sources. It may be said, however, that evidence of complete, correct, and timely information, imparted in the way described by the writer of the questionnaire cited on page 391 is rare indeed.

Aside from a dearth of home information, the questionnaires disclose parental reticence, embarrassment, evasion, even untruthfulness in regard to childish questioning. One woman writes:

> My mother answered my questions, but did not open the way for other questions which I would have been glad to ask. I could screw up my courage to ask only one question at a time.

Only half of those who received information from parents state whether it was helpful or harmful. Of these, 466 claim that it was helpful, while 23 found it harmful. Two hundred and ninety-four say that it only stimulated them to seek information elsewhere. For the cheer of those who may feel inclined to proclaim against the parental neglect here revealed or who

may be saddened by this spectacle of childhood groping for light on its origin, forming phantasies and fears that may continue to sway them long after the truth is known, it should be said that the questionnaires are rich in evidence that reading and the spirit of research often receive their initial impetus through thwarted curiosity. Habits of paging the dictionary for mysterious words occasionally carry over into the pursuit of Latin and Greek. Obscure allusions, gradually becoming clear, sometimes make faithful readers of the Bible or enthusiastic devotees of literature.

A reply of this sort is case number 19, who received from her parents the "briefest facts." Her father emphasized reserve between boys and girls; her mother told her about menstruation and that "babies came from between mother's legs." This greatly stimulated her curiosity. "I searched through dictionaries, the Bible, and all medical books I could get hold of." At 13 she discussed with a girl cousin "the importance of the word 'seed.'" At this time also she was taking elementary physiology in school, of which she writes: "I think it was the beginning of great interest in natural sciences." She gives as the outstanding sex impression of childhood: "Inability to acquire information about matters which filled me with wonder and curiosity." Her mother told her "the mere fact of menstruation and the necessary protection." Asked, "What was the effect of the experience of menstruation?" she replies, "Filled me with desire for real, scientific information." At college she took "all the biological courses offered and found them thrillingly interesting and satisfying." She adds: "I finally got things straight in the biology courses, junior year. I first learned about sexual intercourse at 19, from these sources. The facts about plants and animals made me very curious as to the actual procedure between human beings, and this I gradually learned in my nursing work." Another item in the questionnaire requests, "Criticize the instruction in college from the point of view of its particular value to you in your sex life." She answers: "I was of a scientific turn of mind and wanted straight facts and should have had them

in preparatory school." She finally took an M.A. degree, majoring in biology and minoring in sociology. At present she is a nurse, earning nearly $5,000 a year. She finds her work absorbing.

An interesting example of the disquieting effect that undue home reticence or embarrassment on the subject of sex may have is a teacher of nearly 50 who holds an advanced degree. Here, too, the anxieties of childhood have been lived down, if health, freedom from nervous complaints, economic success, and the sense of being happy may be taken as criteria. This woman received in childhood no direct sex information from her mother. What she learned she picked up from various sources, chiefly from literature. When she asked her mother questions, she was put off and given to understand that the matter was not one to be talked about. She writes:

> My general impression was that sex matters were something to be ashamed of, so I asked no more of anyone and grew up blankly ignorant, picking up a word here and there from talk on general reading and knowing very little; my mother took me to a series of lectures on hygiene when I was 16; but I knew so little I didn't get much from the general lectures; she gave me money to attend the final lecture, specifically upon the sex organs, etc., but my sense of shame regarding sex matters was so much stronger than any curiosity I might have that I didn't go; I started from the house intending to go, but turned back before I had gone a block.

She gives as the outstanding sex impression of childhood that sex matters were not to be talked about and that shame was to be felt in connection with them.

> I was troubled because I knew so little of the things I should know. I felt much at a loss regarding conduct, what was really right or wrong. I was mortally worried over the bad effects of the first man's kiss that was bestowed upon me. This only shows how ignorant and childish I was, even in the late teens.

Case number 47 writes that she received no sex information from her mother, not even preparation for menstruation. In her teens, however, she discussed such questions with other girls,

all of whom were morbidly curious on the subject. From these discussions she gleaned that "there was a side to married life that was nasty." This feeling may have been heightened by having as a child played at sex intercourse with two little boys. Finally, in special hygiene courses in college she gained for the first time "the point of view that sex life was not a thing to be ashamed of. The college physician gave us a normal view of married life." In spite of this intellectual change in attitude, she writes, in reply to the reason for not having married:

> I think the real reason was because I was too selfish and without passion for the opposite sex. I had opportunities.

Elsewhere she mentions her utter inability to respond to the advances of a number of men who from time to time were attentive to her.

Frequent examples occur in the 1,200 replies of children who constructed from the partial information given by their parents or others their own theories about reproduction. The fear of pregnancy as a result of kissing, sitting beside some one in a car, eating certain foods, touching a boy's hand, is one of the most common phantasies and one causing great worry.

Ignorance as to how impregnation actually was achieved is given by many as a source of worry. Such a case is number 44, who learned from a "friendly laundress" that a mother was always sick a few days after a baby's birth and that "a woman with large abdomen would soon have a baby; that a certain girl left school because she would soon have a baby." She states as the effect of this information, "a great fear that I too might have the bad luck to develop a large abdomen and have a baby and be forever disgraced." To the modicum of knowledge imparted by the kindly laundress her mother added that "it was not respectable to have a baby unless one were married." From these stray items she concluded that "childbirth was entirely accidental." A college education, special courses in hygiene, reading Havelock Ellis, *The Golden Bough,* and *Damaged Goods* gradually rounded out her knowledge and undid some of these earlier erroneous impressions.

One woman, who in answer to the question of where babies came from was told by her mother that "the doctor brought them in his grip and they were once mossy stones in the brook," finally learned something of childbirth from medical publications furnished by a girl whose father was proofreader in a printing establishment. Under a section of the questionnaire entitled "Sex Problems," she states that "the outstanding problem of adolescence was the question of reproduction. I realized that children born out of wedlock were looked upon reproachfully. The Immaculate Conception of the Virgin Mary never was clearly understood, and it occurred to me that there might be a recurrence."

Fear of having a baby as a result of playing at sex intercourse with boys at the age of nine is given as the outstanding childhood worry of case number 42. When she was seven and asked her mother about the birth of a baby brother, she was told that the doctor brought him. Further questions met with rebuff. Some inkling of the truth she gained from a girl cousin two or three years older than herself. From this girl she gathered that sex intercourse was "something done in secret that was pleasurable." She became strongly curious about the sex affairs of parents and other adults. Her curiosity about sex matters was not fully satisfied until at the age of thirty she catalogued a medical library and "during the process read up on the physiology, hygiene, etc., of sex."

These few illustrative cases and the figures preceding them have been considered apart from their immediate bearing on opinions held in mature years. In the series of correlations which follows, sex information received in childhood may be seen in relation to the affirmative and negative replies of adults.

The first table of this series deals with the source of earliest information about sex matters.

Less than one-third of our 1,200 recall receiving their first information on sex matters from parents or guardians. The remainder picked up such knowledge largely from other children, servants, and a variety of sources. Although the percentage

TABLE IX

SOURCE OF EARLIEST INFORMATION CORRELATED WITH OPINION AS TO NECESSITY OF SEX INTERCOURSE FOR COMPLETE PHYSICAL AND MENTAL HEALTH

Source of earliest information	Affirmative		Negative		Total answering definitely	Unanswered or indefinite	Grand total	
	No.	%	No.	%			No.	%
Parent or guardian	110	30.6	193	34.7	303	48	351	32.6
Children	190	52.9	291	52.4	481	89	570	52.9
Miscellaneous	59	16.4	71	12.7	130	25	155	14.1
Total answering definitely	359	100.0	555	100.0	914	162	1076	100.0
Unanswered or indefinite	35		67		102	22	124	
Grand total	394		622		1016	184	1200	

receiving information from parent or guardian appears as 4.1 per cent higher in the negative than in the affirmative group, this difference, mathematically tested, is not significant.

Two hundred and eighty-one women state that they never received any sex instruction from their parents. Of those who regard sex intercourse as necessary for complete physical and mental health, 74.8 per cent at some time received information from their parents, while of those holding a negative view, 78.2 per cent received instruction from that source, a difference too slight to be significant.

TABLE X

PARENTAL INFORMATION CORRELATED WITH OPINION AS TO NECESSITY OF SEX INTERCOURSE FOR COMPLETE PHYSICAL AND MENTAL HEALTH

Whether parents ever gave any sex information	Affirmative		Negative		Total answering definitely	Unanswered or indefinite	Grand total	
	No.	%	No.	%			No.	%
Yes	294	74.8	487	78.2	781	135	916	76.5
No	99	25.1	135	21.7	234	47	281	23.4
Total answering definitely	393	100.0	622	100.0	1015	182	1197	100.0
Unanswered or indefinite	1				1	2	3	
Grand total	394		622		1016	184	1200	

Similarly, the nature of the information and whether given voluntarily appear as negligible factors in the holding of an affirmative or negative opinion, as may be seen from the tables which follow:

TABLE XI

NATURE OF SEX INFORMATION CORRELATED WITH OPINION AS TO NECESSITY OF SEX INTERCOURSE FOR COMPLETE PHYSICAL AND MENTAL HEALTH

Nature of sex information	Affirmative		Negative		Total answering definitely	Unanswered or indefinite	Grand total	
	No.	%	No.	%			No.	%
Human reproduction, complete	46	17.9	76	18.5	122	11	133	17.0
Human reproduction, omitting sex intercourse	81	31.6	136	33.1	217	44	261	33.4
Reproduction of plants and animals	8	3.1	4	.9	12		12	
Menstruation only	77	30.0	121	29.5	198	46	244	31.2
Miscellaneous	44	17.1	73	17.8	117	13	130	16.6
Total answering definitely	256	100.0	410	100.0	666	114	780	100.0
Unanswered or indefinite	38		77		115	21	136	
Grand total	294		487		781	135	916	

TABLE XII

VOLUNTARY GIVING OF SEX INFORMATION CORRELATED WITH OPINION AS TO NECESSITY OF SEX INTERCOURSE FOR COMPLETE PHYSICAL AND MENTAL HEALTH

Given voluntarily or as result of questions	Affirmative		Negative		Total answering definitely	Unanswered or indefinite	Grand total	
	No.	%	No.	%			No.	%
Voluntarily	119	53.1	208	55.9	327	54	381	55.4
Result of questions	68	30.3	119	31.9	187	25	212	30.8
Both	37	16.5	45	12.0	82	12	94	13.6
Total answering definitely	224	100.0	372	100.0	596	91	687	100.0
Unanswered or indefinite	70		115		185	44	229	
Grand total	294		487		781	135	916	

More significant, apparently, than merely giving information, or the nature of the information given, is the manner in which parents responded to childish questions on matters related to sex. Of 220 women who do not believe sex intercourse necessary for

complete physical and mental health, 187 (85.0 per cent) met with encouragement when they questioned their mothers, a percentage of 10.4 higher than in the affirmative group.

TABLE XIII

PARENTAL ENCOURAGEMENT OR REBUFF CORRELATED WITH OPINION AS TO NECESSITY OF SEX INTERCOURSE FOR COMPLETE PHYSICAL AND MENTAL HEALTH

If you went to your mother with these matters, did you meet with encouragement or rebuff?	Affirmative		Negative		Total answering definitely	Unanswered or indefinite	Grand total	
	No.	%	No.	%			No.	%
Encouragement	106	74.6	187	85.0	293	43	336	80.7
Rebuff	36	25.3	33	15.0	69	11	80	19.2
Total answering definitely	142	100.0	220	100.0	362	54	416	100.0
Unanswered or indefinite	152		267		419	81	500	
Grand total	294		487		781	135	916	

The three tables which follow reveal no significant difference in the percentage holding affirmative and negative opinions. Whether questions were answered truthfully or evasively, helpfully or harmfully, no appreciable influence on opinions subsequently held may be discovered.

TABLE XIV

TRUTHFULNESS OF PARENTAL INFORMATION CORRELATED WITH OPINION AS TO NECESSITY OF SEX INTERCOURSE FOR COMPLETE PHYSICAL AND MENTAL HEALTH

Did she answer your questions truthfully or evasively?	Affirmative		Negative		Total answering definitely	Unanswered or indefinite	Grand total	
	No.	%	No.	%			No.	%
Truthfully	133	63.6	229	68.9	362	58	420	67.2
Evasively	76	36.3	103	31.0	179	26	205	32.8
Total answering definitely	209	100.0	332	100.0	541	84	625	100.0
Unanswered or indefinite	85		155		240	51	291	
Grand total	294		487		781	135	916	

Unsatisfied curiosity at the time of asking questions, or stimulated curiosity, seem to have no bearing on the opinion expressed, as the difference between the percentages in the two groups is not significant.

TABLE XV

PUTTING CHILDREN OFF WITH STORK OR OTHER STORIES CORRELATED WITH OPINION AS TO NECESSITY OF SEX INTERCOURSE FOR COMPLETE PHYSICAL AND MENTAL HEALTH

Did she put you off with stork or other stories?	Affirmative		Negative		Total answering definitely	Unanswered or indefinite	Grand total	
	No.	%	No.	%			No.	%
Yes	51	25.7	85	27.2	136	12	148	25.0
No	147	74.2	227	72.7	374	69	443	74.9
Total answering definitely	198	100.0	312	100.0	510	81	591	100.0
Unanswered or indefinite	96		175		271	54	325	
Grand total	294		487		781	135	916	

TABLE XVI

HELPFULNESS OF PARENTAL INFORMATION CORRELATED WITH OPINION AS TO NECESSITY OF SEX INTERCOURSE FOR COMPLETE PHYSICAL AND MENTAL HEALTH

Was the information received from your parents helpful or harmful?	Affirmative		Negative		Total answering definitely	Unanswered or indefinite	Grand total	
	No.	%	No.	%			No.	%
Helpful	148	83.0	254	96.5	402	64	466	95.3
Harmful	11	6.9	9	3.4	20	3	23	4.7
Total answering definitely	159	100.0	263	100.0	422	67	489	100.0
Unanswered or indefinite	135		224		359	68	427	
Grand total	294		487		781	135	916	

TABLE XVII

SATISFIED CURIOSITY CORRELATED WITH OPINION AS TO NECESSITY OF SEX INTERCOURSE FOR COMPLETE PHYSICAL AND MENTAL HEALTH

Did it satisfy your curiosity at that time?	Affirmative		Negative		Total answering definitely	Unanswered or indefinite	Grand total	
	No.	%	No.	%			No.	%
Yes	141	61.0	271	70.2	412	62	474	67.2
No	90	38.9	115	29.7	205	26	231	32.8
Total answering definitely	231	100.0	386	100.0	617	88	705	100.0
Unanswered or indefinite	63		101		164	47	211	
Grand total	294		487		781	135	916	

The next opinion expressed is in answer to the question: Is a young man before marriage ever justified in having sex intercourse? If so, under what conditions? Eight hundred and six

TABLE XVIII

STIMULATED CURIOSITY CORRELATED WITH OPINION AS TO NECESSITY OF SEX INTERCOURSE FOR COMPLETE PHYSICAL AND MENTAL HEALTH

Did it stimulate your curiosity and cause you to seek information elsewhere?	Affirmative		Negative		Total answering definitely	Unanswered or indefinite	Grand total	
	No.	%	No.	%			No.	%
Yes	104	46.2	157	42.8	261	33	294	43.4
No	121	53.7	209	57.1	330	53	383	56.6
Total answering definitely	225	100.0	366	100.0	591	86	677	100.0
Unanswered or indefinite	69		121		190	49	239	
Grand total	294		487		781	135	916	

(79.0 per cent) reply in the negative and 213 (20.9 per cent) in the affirmative. Various conditions are suggested by the minority group; foremost among them are temptation or the strain and stress of exceptional conditions, or injury to health. Some consider love sufficient justification. Others suggest that obstacles to marriage would justify engaged couples. Nearly

TABLE XIX

IS A YOUNG MAN BEFORE MARRIAGE EVER JUSTIFIED IN HAVING SEX INTERCOURSE? IF SO, UNDER WHAT CONDITIONS?

	No.	%
Affirmative		
Yes	9	
Under specified conditions	106	
Miscellaneous	57	
Dubious	41— 213	20.9
Negative		
No	488	
Emphatic	15	
Not justified, but excusable, etc	57	
Miscellaneous	112	
Dubious	134— 806	79.0
Total answering definitely	1019	100.0
Noncommittal	47	
Don't know	45	
Unanswered	89	
Total	1200	

200 fail to answer the question, or answer it too indefinitely to permit classification.

The same question, in regard to young women, shows only a slight variation (1.1 per cent) from the opinion expressed in regard to young men. Of those who answer the question definitely 186 (19.4 per cent) reply affirmatively, and 772 (80.5 per cent) negatively. Those answering affirmatively offer the same sort of justification for the women as for the men.

TABLE XX

IS A YOUNG WOMAN BEFORE MARRIAGE EVER JUSTIFIED IN HAVING SEX INTERCOURSE? IF SO, UNDER WHAT CONDITIONS?

	No.	%
Affirmative		
Yes	16	
Under specified conditions	83	
Miscellaneous	47	
Dubious	40— 186	19.4
Negative		
No	505	
Emphatic	18	
Not justified, but excusable, etc	55	
Miscellaneous	106	
Dubious	88— 772	80.5
Total answering definitely	958	100.0
Noncommittal	58	
Don't know	34	
Unanswered	150	
Total	1200	

When opinions on this question are correlated with sex practices, significant differences are found in the group practicing masturbation and in the group which indulged in sex intercourse, but no significant difference occurs in the group showing homosexual tendencies. This applies to the opinion regarding women, as well as that regarding men. In each instance a significantly higher percentage of those disapproving of sex intercourse before marriage never indulged in sex intercourse or masturbation, as may be seen from the two tables which follow:

TABLE XXI

SEX PRACTICES CORRELATED WITH OPINION AS TO WHETHER A YOUNG MAN IS EVER JUSTIFIED IN HAVING SEX INTERCOURSE BEFORE MARRIAGE

Sex practices	Affirmative		Negative		Total answering definitely	Unanswered or indefinite	Grand total	
	No.	%	No.	%			No.	%
A. Masturbation								
Practiced	154	75.8	469	61.5	623	110	733	66.0
Never practiced	49	24.1	280	37.3	329	48	377	33.9
Total answering definitely	203	100.0	749	100.0	952	158	1110	100.0
Unanswered	10		57		67	23	90	
Total group	213	20.9	806	79.0	1019	181	1200	
*B. H. I.—H. II.**								
In H. I. or H. II. groups	118	55.9	402	50.5	520	85	605	51.1
Not in H. I. or H. II. groups	93	44.0	394	49.4	487	91	578	48.8
Total answering definitely	211	100.0	796	100.0	1007	176	1183	100.0
Unanswered	2		10		12	5	17	
Total group	213	20.9	806	79.0	1019	181	1200	
C. Sex Intercourse								
Indulged in sex intercourse	76	37.8	41	5.7	117	19	136	12.7
Never indulged in sex intercourse	125	62.1	669	94.2	794	134	928	87.2
Total answering definitely	201	100.0	710	100.0	911	153	1064	100.0
Unanswered	12		96		108	28	136	
Total group	213	20.9	806	79.0	1019	181	1200	
Adult sex experiences denied or unanswered	22	10.5	186	89.4	208	42	250	

* H. I. = Homosexual experiences without overt practices.
H. II. = Homosexual experiences with overt practices.

Apparently the opinions held were not the result of early sex information, for, when the source and nature of such information and the manner of imparting it are correlated with affirmative and negative views, no significant difference is found.

In answer to the question: Is a husband ever justified in having sex intercourse with a woman or women other than his wife? If so, under what conditions? 248 (24.1 per cent) answer in the affirmative and 777 (75.8 per cent) in the negative. One hundred and seventy-five answer vaguely or not at all. Still fewer, 20.7 per cent, consider that a wife is justified in having extra-marital relations.

TABLE XXII

SEX PRACTICES CORRELATED WITH OPINION AS TO WHETHER A YOUNG WOMAN IS EVER JUSTIFIED IN HAVING SEX INTERCOURSE BEFORE MARRIAGE

Sex practices	Affirmative		Negative		Total answering definitely	Unanswered or indefinite	Grand total	
	No.	%	No.	%			No.	%
A. Masturbation								
Practiced	132	75.4	453	63.1	585	148	733	66.0
Never practiced	43	24.5	264	36.8	307	70	377	33.9
Total answering definitely	175	100.0	717	100.0	892	218	1110	100.0
Unanswered	11		55		66	24	90	
Total group	186	19.4	772	80.5	958	242	1200	
*B. H. I.—H. II.**								
In H. I. or II. groups	105	57.0	390	51.0	495	110	605	51.1
Not in H. I. or II. groups	79	42.9	374	48.9	453	125	578	48.8
Total answering definitely	184	100.0	764	100.0	948	235	1183	100.0
Unanswered	2		8		10	7	17	
Total group	186	19.4	772	80.5	958	242	1200	
C. Sex Intercourse								
Indulged in sex intercourse	71	40.1	40	5.8	111	25	136	12.7
Never indulged in sex intercourse	106	59.8	640	94.1	746	182	928	87.2
Total answering definitely	177	100.0	680	100.0	857	207	1064	100.0
Unanswered	9		92		101	35	136	
Total group	186	19.4	772	80.5	958	242	1200	
Adult sex experiences denied or unanswered	20	10.4	172	85.9	192	58	250	

* H. I. = Homosexual experiences without overt practices.
H. II. = Homosexual experiences with overt practices.

Extra-marital relations for either partner are justified by the affirmative group on a number of grounds: unsatisfactory relations between husband and wife, from whatever cause; separation or divorce, or when divorce is desired but cannot be obtained. A few regard the husband's or wife's love for another as justification; or the unsatisfied desire for children.

When the number holding affirmative and negative opinions are correlated with those engaged in certain sex practices, significant differences are observed. Of the 248 who consider that a husband is warranted in having extra-marital relations, 170 (72.6 per cent) practiced masturbation, 148 (60.1 per cent)

TABLE XXIII

IS A HUSBAND EVER JUSTIFIED IN HAVING SEX INTERCOURSE WITH A WOMAN OR WOMEN OTHER THAN HIS WIFE? IF SO, UNDER WHAT CONDITIONS?

	No.	%
Affirmative		
Yes	7	
Under specified conditions	152	
Miscellaneous	25	
Dubious	64— 248	24.1
Negative		
No	566	
Emphatic	27	
Not justified, but excusable, etc	21	
Miscellaneous	93	
Dubious	70— 777	75.8
Total answering definitely	1025	100.0
Noncommittal	43	
Don't know	32	
Unanswered	100	
Total	1200	

TABLE XXIV

IS A WIFE EVER JUSTIFIED IN HAVING SEX INTERCOURSE WITH A MAN OR MEN OTHER THAN HER HUSBAND? IF SO, UNDER WHAT CONDITIONS?

	No.	%
Affirmative		
Yes	8	
Under specified conditions	120	
Miscellaneous	18	
Dubious	52— 198	20.7
Negative		
No	584	
Emphatic	22	
Not justified, but excusable, etc	15	
Miscellaneous	83	
Dubious	53— 757	79.2
Total answering definitely	955	100.0
Noncommittal	38	
Don't know	26	
Unanswered	181	
Total	1200	

admitted homosexual feelings or practices, and 69 (29.7 per cent) had indulged in sex intercourse. In each instance these percentages proved significantly higher than those representing a negative view. A corresponding variation occurs in reference to the question of whether a wife is justified in having extra-marital relations.

TABLE XXV

SEX PRACTICES CORRELATED WITH OPINION AS TO WHETHER A HUSBAND IS EVER JUSTIFIED IN HAVING SEX INTERCOURSE WITH A WOMAN OR WOMEN OTHER THAN HIS WIFE

Sex practices	Affirmative		Negative		Total answering definitely	Unanswered or indefinite	Grand total	
	No.	%	No.	%			No.	%
A. Masturbation								
Practiced	170	72.6	449	62.3	619	114	733	66.0
Never practiced	64	27.3	271	37.6	335	42	377	33.8
Total answering definitely	234	100.0	720	100.0	954	156	1110	100.0
Unanswered	14		57		71	19	90	
Total group	248	24.1	777	75.8	1025	175	1200	
*B. H. I.—H. II.**								
In H. I. or II. groups	148	60.1	369	48.1	517	88	603	51.1
Not in H. I. or II. groups	98	39.8	398	51.8	496	82	578	48.8
Total answering definitely	246	100.0	767	100.0	1013	170	1183	100.0
Unanswered	2		10		12	5	17	
Total group	248	24.1	777	75.8	1025	175	1200	
C. Sex Intercourse								
Indulged in sex intercourse	69	29.7	48	7.0	117	19	136	12.7
Never indulged in sex intercourse	163	70.2	633	92.9	796	132	928	87.2
Total answering definitely	232	100.0	681	100.0	913	151	1064	100.0
Unanswered	16		96		112	24	136	
Total group	248	24.1	777	75.8	1025	175	1200	
Adult sex experiences denied or unanswered	31	14.2	186	85.7	217	33	250	

* H. I. = Homosexual experiences without overt practices.
H. II. = Homosexual experiences with overt practices.

When the opinions held are correlated with aspects of early sex information, no significant difference occurs in the affirmative and negative groups.

Only a small minority, 15.3 per cent of those answering defi-

TABLE XXVI

SEX PRACTICES CORRELATED WITH OPINION AS TO WHETHER A WIFE IS EVER JUSTIFIED IN HAVING SEX INTERCOURSE WITH A MAN OR MEN OTHER THAN HER HUSBAND

Sex practices	Affirmative		Negative		Total answering definitely	Unanswered or indefinite	Grand total	
	No.	%	No.	%			No.	%
A. Masturbation								
Practiced	140	74.0	443	63.1	583	150	733	66.0
Never practiced	49	25.9	259	36.8	308	69	377	34.0
Total answering definitely	189	100.0	702	100.0	891	219	1110	100.0
Unanswered	9		55		64	26	90	
Total group	198	20.7	757	79.2	955	245	1200	
*B. H. I.—H. II.**								
In H. I. or II. groups	126	63.9	361	48.2	487	118	605	55.8
Not in H. I. or II. groups	71	36.0	387	51.7	458	120	578	44.2
Total answering definitely	197	100.0	748	100.0	945	238	1183	100.0
Unanswered	1		9		10	7	17	
Total group	198	20.7	757	79.2	955	245	1200	
C. Sex Intercourse								
Indulged in sex intercourse	56	29.7	51	7.6	107	29	136	12.8
Never indulged in sex intercourse	132	70.2	612	92.3	744	184	928	87.2
Total answering definitely	188	100.0	663	100.0	851	213	1064	100.0
Unanswered	10		94		104	32	136	
Total group	198	20.7	757	79.2	955	245	1200	
Adult sex experiences denied or unanswered	22	11.2	174	88.7	196	54	250	

* H. I. =Homosexual experiences without overt practices.
H. II. =Homosexual experiences with overt practices.

nitely the question "Are married people justified having intercourse except for the purpose of having children?" reply negatively. Thirty-two of the 149 who take this view do so on moral grounds. Others advance a variety of reasons. The following are samples of negative replies:

"Just as immoral for them as for anyone."

"All intercourse except for procreation is adultery. It is self-indulgence of the lower nature, exactly as is eating more than is required for the satisfaction of hunger."

"Unethical and degrading."

"Such people remind me of animals."

"Seems rather disgusting to me, personally, and that it would destroy any respect."

"Marriage seems to me a legal prostitution if both parties have intercourse but strive to prevent children."

"Becomes an abuse of a power which should be held sacred."

"The real purpose of marriage is to continue the species, and to use this institution as a cloak for sexual pleasure without assuming the responsibility of children is a violation of a natural and a social law."

"Too exciting to nervous system."

"Should fear harm to future births."

"I cannot conceive of how a sensitive woman could get joy out of the unbearable situation."

"I think as creators they should use their powers as artists."

"Ideally, no. Actually, yes."

The 820 who answer affirmatively justify it on several grounds: As an expression of love, because it is a natural, normal relation, because children might for many reasons be undesirable, because desire is strong; for pleasure, satisfaction, development; because the intimacy of married life necessitates it; for physical and mental health.

TABLE XXVII

ARE MARRIED PEOPLE JUSTIFIED IN HAVING INTERCOURSE EXCEPT FOR THE PURPOSE OF HAVING CHILDREN? KINDLY GIVE REASONS FOR YOUR REPLY

	No.	%
Affirmative		
Yes	54	
Emphatic	8	
Under specified conditions	553	
Miscellaneous	55	
Dubious	150— 820	84.6
Negative		
No	26	
Emphatic	3	
With general comment	50	
Miscellaneous	28	
Dubious	42— 149	15.3
Total answering definitely	969	100.0
Noncommittal	17	
Don't know	100	
Unanswered	114	
Total	1200	

When these replies are correlated with adult sex practices, it is found that the negative replies in two groups, those who practiced masturbation and those who never practiced, number less than 100. Although this makes it impossible to generalize, the difference in percentage between the practice of masturbation in our affirmative and negative groups is so great that a possible relationship between tolerance toward sex intercourse except for the purpose of having children and the fact that masturbation was practiced is strongly suggested. No significant difference is found with respect to homosexual tendencies or practices, but here also the numbers in one group are less than 100.

A significantly higher percentage of those who oppose sex intercourse between married people except for the purpose of having children occurs in the group that never indulged in sex intercourse. As the numbers in both groups here exceed 100, the formula is applicable. The complete correlation follows:

Inasmuch as the preceding table suggests a relationship between certain practices and the holding of an affirmative or negative view, it may be interesting to see if individual cases lean in the same direction. As this can be attempted only on a small scale, we shall limit our comparison to the questionnaires from which negative views have already been cited, taking a few in the order in which they occur.

No. 874, for example, believes that all intercourse among married people except for procreation is adultery. This comment is preceded in the questionnaire by a very large "No" with double underscoring and an exclamation point. Do her replies as a whole throw any light on the thoughts or circumstances that may have contributed to such an emphatically expressed view?

She is a woman of 49, in fair health. Once she experienced a "near breakdown." She describes her life as unhappy ("I have not been faithful to my ideals"); satisfactory ("only in that I can help my sisters"); unsatisfactory ("too much routine work"); unsuccessful ("because I have not made of myself and opportunities what I could have made"). In early childhood she received from her stepmother very full information about reproduction in plants and animals, including humans. This infor-

TABLE XXVIII

SEX PRACTICES CORRELATED WITH OPINION AS TO WHETHER MARRIED PEOPLE ARE JUSTIFIED IN HAVING INTERCOURSE EXCEPT FOR THE PURPOSE OF HAVING CHILDREN

Sex practices	Affirmative		Negative		Total answering definitely	Unanswered or indefinite	Grand total	
	No.	%	No.	%			No.	%
A. Masturbation								
Practiced	539	69.9	76	56.7	615	118	733	66.0
Never practiced	232	30.0	58	43.2	290	87	377	34.0
Total answering definitely	771	100.0	134	100.0	905	205	1110	100.0
Unanswered	49		15		64	26	90	
Total group	820	84.6	149	15.3	969	231	1200	
*B. H. I.—H. II.**								
In H. I. or II. groups	439	54.0	69	46.9	508	97	605	55.8
Not in H. I. or II. groups	373	45.9	78	53.0	451	127	578	44.2
Total answering definitely	812	100.0	147	100.0	959	224	1183	100.0
Unanswered	8		2		10	7	17	
Total group	820	84.6	149	15.3	969	231	1200	
C. Sex Intercourse								
Indulged in sex intercourse	120	16.0	2	1.5	122	14	136	12.8
Never indulged in sex intercourse	626	83.9	125	98.4	751	177	928	87.2
Total answering definitely	746	100.0	127	100.0	873	191	1064	100.0
Unanswered	74		22		96	40	136	
Total group	820	84.6	149	15.3	969	231	1200	
Adult sex experiences denied or unanswered	142	76.3	44	23.6	186	64	250	

* H. I. =Homosexual experiences without overt practices.
H. II. =Homosexual experiences with overt practices.

mation was given voluntarily as a result of "our chasing 'mean old roosters' off from the victimized hens." To the full instruction received from her stepmother, she attributes her lack of morbid curiosity. Before the age of 16 she read rather full accounts of the exposure of houses of prostitution in a Northern mining town.

Her replies are somewhat inconsistent. Although she denies all sex feeling, she admits occasionally experiencing orgasms in her sleep, without external stimulation. While denying masturbation, she underlines, as a reason for practicing it, "the desire for pleasure thus secured." On the next page she writes: "I never 'practiced' it; it comes involuntarily." She denies ever

having indulged in sex intercourse or having had intense emotional relations with any other woman. Elsewhere she answers: "Unfortunately, never had the companionship of boys and young men." As a reason for not marrying, she offers: "Was denied social life. I have not had a full normal life." In answer to the question, "Do you expect to marry if you meet the right man?" she writes: "Never expect to meet him. No such luck." Across the top of the questionnaire she writes: "I have filled out at your request, but have had no experience of any value to you."

A woman of 32 replies "No. It seems to me just as immoral for them as for anyone."

She has had excellent health since graduating from college. Prior to that she had been subject to fainting spells which under medical care decreased in frequency from the age of 5 until she completed college. She describes her life on the whole as successful and fairly happy, because she enjoys freedom and loves her work. She regrets not having a family, but is reluctant to give up work without certainty of children.

When she was 10 years old, remarks of other children about an expectant mother aroused her curiosity. From these she learned to think of sex matters as something rather shameful. She learned "that parents had sex intercourse to get babies and that it was pleasurable. Always told 'not to tell.'" Elsewhere she mentions as the most vividly recalled information of childhood, "that sex intercourse was pleasurable, but forbidden." She heard at this time a conversation which, while over her head, greatly stimulated her curiosity. She was afraid to question grown-ups, so read everything she could lay hold of, particularly novels. Her mother gave little information aside from telling that the doctor brought her baby brother in a satchel, and warning her at another time not to touch sex organs, as it was dangerous "and made one foolish, that it brought on female weakness, 'the whites.'" She and another girl with whom she slept had been discovered practicing mutual masturbation at 8. Her mother did not prepare her for the experience of menstruation. She learned of it through other girls who were experiencing

the change. It "made them stand out as curiosities. When it came to me at 11 I sobbed violently and told my mother. It caused intense nervous excitement and emotional interest in boys."

In college classes and through government propaganda she "learned about venereal diseases, the physiology and anatomy of sex, but sex desire was not discussed." The sex instruction received was "intensely interesting and helpful, but I would have liked more information about the emotional side."

She gives as her attitude toward sex thoughts, "have been taught they were not wise." She strives to drive them from her mind, as she "fears the exciting effect they have." As the reason for not marrying she writes:

> Engaged two years or more, but broke it because man was a Unitarian—I a Presbyterian. He also was affected by wine at dinner, two or three times. I had a horror of a drunkard. At that time had such *high ideals* for my lover, these differences were mountains, absurd as it sounds and as it seems to me today. As a college girl lived too much in a land of *ideals*. Had three proposals definitely later; expected to accept them and couldn't. First love stood in the way. May yet, but know that if I marry now it will probably not be for an emotional love like that which was on as high a plane as possible. No one understood my breaking the engagement then and probably can't now, but I preferred a "dream" to breaking down of ideals; I wanted an "ideal." Should have been taught more charity for human frailty.

As a present sex problem she states:

> The devil in me that wants the experience of "sexual intercourse," because it is natural. I always want new experiences. Hate to reach 45 without it.

Under sex problems and worries of adolescence she writes:

> Had a tapeworm. Afraid to tell about it for three years. Thought it "whites," and if it was thought it a discredit to me, so endured it until I had pneumonia and a nurse who recognized tapeworm had it removed.

Rebellion at ignorance is given as the outstanding problem of childhood.

I always wanted to know everything. I lost faith in parents and felt there was no help to be had from them. What knowledge I could get from girls and books was distorted and polluted.

She concludes the section with this comment:

My father and mother always quarreled *before the children* and I had a horror of it for my children. Church was one of their subjects of disagreement. It made my childhood very unhappy. Did not intend to have it in my life.

The woman who regards sex intercourse, except for the purpose of having children, as "unethical and degrading," is 43 years old, in excellent health. She regards her life as happy, satisfactory, and successful. She looks upon her work, teaching, as a service to the public. Her outside interests embrace symphony concerts, the theater, and courses at the university.

At 14, reproduction was explained by her mother and she was instructed in the proper care of herself during menstruation. Its appearance caused her to feel "awe at womanhood." From her mother she learned that "all people who practice promiscuity are apt to be infected," and that "adultery is a sin."

Scientific courses in college and the reading of literature completed her knowledge of sex. Twice she mentions reading Tolstoy's *Kreutzer Sonata* which she found disgusting. She concludes the questionnaire with the following explanatory note:

It is quite possible that my sex desires are below normal. I am one of eleven children (about the center of the group) and have Puritanic ancestry. My parents are Mennonites, among whom virtually no immorality exists. These sex morals are, I think, rather hereditary than taught. Since intermarriage was not permitted with other sects or creeds, the moral standard of my ancestry for some hundreds of years undoubtedly had its effects on my breeding. The sex impulse meant virtually nothing to me until I moved into a big city and saw the effects and results on the mass of people, especially adolescents.

The reading of *The Kreutzer Sonata* by Tolstoy has completely nauseated me in respect to sex intercourse.

The woman who remarks "Such people remind me of animals" writes at the beginning of the section on opinions:

My knowledge of these subjects is scant, yet I will give you my opinions as they stand at present. Because of my lack of desire of sexual intercourse I can't be sympathetic with these questions.

To the query: What is your attitude toward prostitution? she replies:

No excuse for its existence. Animals again.

She thinks that children should receive instruction in sex matters, that they should be taught "the beauty of certain sex relations, the ugliness and sin of others." She expresses her attitude toward sex thoughts as follows:

Loathing—hate them in movies—seldom go, for that reason—never have listened to a shady story! Personally can't account for the existence of such things.

In the light of certain occurrences in this woman's childhood described on page 361 in connection with another topic, the opinions and feelings here indicated seem far from inexplicable.

The woman who writes: "Seems rather disgusting to me personally and that it would destroy any respect," is a young woman of 32 who at present is engaged in routine office work in her father's business, so that in the future she may assume greater responsibility in connection with it. She finds the work boring rather than absorbing, yet looks upon her life as happy and satisfactory. Her chief interests are literature, amateur dramatics, and out-of-door sports.

When a cousin was born, a companion a year older than herself told her something of the facts connected with birth. This prompted her to ask her mother for further particulars, but she met only with rebuff. Her mother remarked that this girl must be "pretty old for her age." She then satisfied her curiosity by consulting older girls. "Curiosity about birth of babies dominated the interest of our group," she writes in answer to the question concerning the most vivid sex memories of childhood. She never received any sex information from her mother, not even having been instructed in regard to menstruation.

She tries to drive such thoughts from her mind, as they fill her with "a feeling of disgust." "Dancing or any physical contact," she finds stimulating; also "physical strength in men." She has practiced masturbation and admits intense feeling for other women, though for only one at a time. She has never indulged in sex intercourse. "Spooning," occasionally indulged in, has "lessened self-respect." She writes that she has no sex problems.

"Marriage seems to me a legal prostitution if both parties have intercourse but strive to prevent children."

The woman who holds this view feels no less strongly about some of the other opinions asked. She "cannot think of any justification for sex intercourse before marriage. Even nature punishes promiscuity with disease." Nor does she think extramarital relations justifiable. She finds one excuse for abortion: "When the girl has been the victim of her ignorance." Prostitution she regards as "an evil that will always exist, for men are by nature polygamous and defective women are plentiful." Methods for birth control should be available to married women after they have had one child, but never to unmarried women, as "it might increase 'loose' living."

Her opinion regarding sex instruction for girls and young women is interesting in the light of her own experience: She thinks that such instruction should come from parents first (hers never gave her any); then school lectures by doctors; then college lectures (this is the course her own instruction took). That it should be given at 9 or 10 (the age when she tried to find out where babies came from). Its main items, in her opinion, should be "anatomy, hygiene, explanation of origin of life; later, a more extended view of this, plus study of sex impulse, perversions, dangers, and diseases."

The writer of this questionnaire is 32 years old. Her health was poor until adolescence and has been poor since she left college. During the interim it was excellent. She suffers from constipation and nervousness and is underweight. She is inclined to worry and came so near to a nervous breakdown that she had to give up office work. At present she lives at home.

She regards her life as unsatisfactory because she wants "to work and do something worth while, but hasn't the physical strength."

When she was 11 years old, the birth of a nephew made her curious to know where babies came from and why her aunt was sick. Two little girls, older than she, told her that "babies came out of the stomach." This information "puzzled me and made me a little ashamed." She names it elsewhere as the most vividly remembered information of childhood. The girls told her to ask her mother "why the baby's mother was sick." She continues:

> I remember my mother hesitated and then said it was from nursing the baby, which I went and told the two little girls. The explanation satisfied me, I think.

In answer to another question she states that her mother never gave her any sex information.

> I never went to my mother with sex questions. I was embarrassed and now see she was too. By listening and reading everything I came across, I gradually made up my mind on things.

She learned of sex intercourse at 9 or 10 through hints from other children. In answer to the question, "What was the nature of the information?" she replies, "I can only remember it was contained in one terrible word that we were all immensely afraid of." She relates the following incident that occurred also about this time:

> Only one incident of "sex feeling" during childhood stands out in my memory, and that stands out, I suppose, because of the intense feeling of shame it afterwards roused in me. We remember the things that affect our vanity or pride.
>
> I was about 10 or 11, probably, and though I had my own room, I was sleeping with my older sister (she was ten years older than I). I remember lying in bed waiting for her to come in later, when the grown-ups went to bed, and I recall that I was seized with an intense desire to expose myself to her. Why I had this desire I did not know; I had never had it before and I never had it again. I recall that I planned to do it when she should come in and turn on the gas. And it all seemed perfectly *natural* and *right* to me—until she came in and turned on the light and I did it. Then she said "don't" and retreated

into the closet, and I shrank under the bedclothes and all the naturalness of it was gone and it seemed a strange and awful thing I had done. I was greatly ashamed and puzzled and not till years afterwards did I understand that the impulse was based on sex feelings.

I cannot remember what aroused this state; I remember nothing before the incident.

Under sex experiences she describes a game which she and another little girl played with paper dolls when she was about 13 years old:

We played it endlessly, always making up new situations. Sometimes I spent the night with the little girl and then we played the game in bed and she took the name of her paper doll and I took the name of mine. I don't recall a thing about the game, but I know that somehow or other it began to be part of the game to stroke each other's spinal columns, going as near the base as we dared. We got a sort of physical pleasure out of it which I see now was probably sexual. This occurred probably three or four times and I have the vague impression that we stopped because of a feeling of fear. There was never any handling of the organs, though I suppose it might have led to that if we had not stopped.

During childhood she was given to sex reveries. Before going to sleep she made up exciting stories that

often had nothing to do with sex, but as I grew older they often did. I generally built up a story around some older man whom I admired greatly, though it might be some one I did not even know. I have never regarded these stories as harmful. Since I have understood them I have thought of them as a natural outlet. I have sometimes gone back to the childish habit of "making up stories" to take my mind off unpleasant things. Sex sometimes enters into them.

An older sister prepared her for menstruation, although she told her

merely the bare fact of its coming once a month; nothing else. It embarrassed me and worried me a little, though I had known before that there was some mystery ahead of me.

When menstruation appeared, at the age of 15, she felt "shame and intense depression."

I fancy my mother was too embarrassed to tell me.

In answer to the question, "What were the outstanding sex problems or worries of childhood?" she states:

I do not recall any. Merely the wondering about the mysteries I knew existed, and fear of menstruation. I cannot recall the earliest sex problem or worry. Perhaps this is because I had so little to do with boys and men when a child, and even till I was through college.

In regard to sex problems or worries of adolescence she writes:

The only sex worry I recall during this period is that I used to wish intensely that I could be at ease with boys, and be attractive to them as other girls were about me. I never could say a word to them and was always ill at ease with them. This was due to excessive shyness in childhood which had led to my almost never knowing or playing with any boys. They frightened me as a child. But during this period I wanted to do as other girls did and I recall I used to worry over my bashfulness. I don't remember any sex feelings connected with this wish, but just the longing for fun and admiration other girls seemed to get. This lasted all through college years, but, strangely enough, when I got out of college and started working my shyness all dropped off.

Perhaps I should mention intense depression caused by menstruation, which, however, lessened as I grew older.

Perhaps also I should consider as a sex worry a sort of antagonism which I had to all sexual relations. That is, what I had guessed or learned during this period all seemed hateful and disgusting to me, excessively so. I despised the whole thing and could not see anything of the "glory of motherhood" which was being so much spoken of during those years. Marriage did not seem a beautiful relationship to me at all. Woman seemed like a sort of slave and I felt the deepest resentment for her subservience. Stories of ill-treatment of women, rape, etc., made me nearly sick. I never have outgrown these feelings entirely and probably never shall, as they are hereditary, I think, and also stimulated by environment.

It is so strange that this antagonism should exist along with the desire first mentioned to attract boys, but the two feelings were coexistent.

She gives as the chief sources of later sex information school and college classes; friends and companions; literature. She names de Maupassant, the Bible, Shakespeare, Freud, and Havelock Ellis as helpful books that have given her a good deal of

information. She criticizes as follows the instruction received in college:

As I look back on the hygiene lectures we were given as seniors, it seems to me they were chiefly of value to me in settling once and for all the facts about sex intercourse and birth—facts that had always been just a little hazy.

But I think they failed in warning us of dangers. (It is possible they did warn us, but I think I should remember it if they had.) I think they should have warned us about, and also explained to us thoroughly, the activities which you have gathered under Section III.[1] I never knew about these facts till I had been out of college some years, and I can think of times in my life when the knowledge would have been a good thing for me. I think the college years are the years to teach girls the facts of Section III; I do not believe in teaching them earlier, as I do not think they would be fully appreciated and understood.

From the combined sources mentioned she finally gained correct information on all the points she wanted to know as a child. Although her replies are replete with evidence of unsatisfied early curiosity on the origin of babies, appearance of menstruation, sex intercourse, relation to boys and men, when asked what were the outstanding sex problems of childhood, she fails to recall any. "Merely wondering about the mysteries I knew existed and fear of menstruation" evidently are not classified as sex problems, which from the answer which follows—"perhaps because I had so little to do with boys and men"—seems to indicate that the word "sex" has for her a very limited connotation, applying to feelings regarding the opposite sex. Only specific questions, it appears, could in such a case draw out the desired information.

A woman 53 years old voices this opinion. "Becomes an abuse of a power which should be held sacred."

Since leaving college her health has been poor. She suffers from severe headaches, nervous exhaustion, and lack of strength. At one time she had a nervous breakdown. She considers her life as happy on the whole ——

[1] Section III of the questionnaire relates to sex feeling, experiences, and practices.

happy, because I have done so many of the things I wanted to do, and had a lovely mother who filled my whole life; unsatisfactory and unsuccessful because neither mentally nor physically was I equal to the tasks I set myself.

The sections on information and instruction are briefly answered:

I cannot recall that I ever was curious. I accepted my little brother without question.

She was not prepared for menstruation. When it appeared, she "knew something unusual had happened, but was not curious." Her mother then told her that it would occur monthly. This is the only sex information given by her mother. "Sly references to my having matured, made by a friend, I met with indignant silence."

To the question, "When did you first receive information about where babies came from?" she replies, "Knowledge came by very slow degrees and probably is not complete now." She doesn't know when she first learned about sex intercourse, "but after childhood."

She first learned about masturbation from a physician who said that she needed a slight operation to relieve irritation. More interest in sex matters was advised by the physician, following a severe illness. The only sex problem that she recalls is

Just what the doctor meant when he said I had adhesions which might get me into bad habits. I was terribly worried and appealed to a woman doctor, who quieted my fears.

All sex feelings are denied. Sex thoughts occur only occasionally. Her attitude toward them is one of aversion. Under the section on sex experiences she writes that, when she was 6 or 7, a little girl visiting the house taught her mutual handling of sex organs, "but, as I recall, my mother detected it and stopped it and it was never repeated with another." After 25 she indulged sometimes in the practice of masturbation.

There is no record of emotional relations with other women beyond college days, when, as she writes, "we all had our crushes!" Of spooning, she writes, "Brought up to regard it as

not good form." She has not married, "chiefly because only one man ever wanted me and I did not want him. I think marriage is liable to mean so much misery." Do you expect to marry? "Who can tell! You seem never to be safe." She thinks that girls should be taught "female anatomy. Moral considerations." The questionnaire is concluded by this comment, "Thank the Lord this is over!"

A young woman of 27 writes:

> The real purpose of marriage is to continue the species, and to use this institution as a cloak for sexual pleasure without assuming the responsibility of children is a violation of a natural and a social law.

She reports excellent health and is not inclined to worry. She shows no history of nervous disorders. She considers her life happy because her disposition is by nature happy and she has never had any great sorrows. It is unsatisfactory only in one particular—she has been unable to satisfy a great desire to travel in distant countries.

She recalls no curiosity in regard to sex matters. At 10 she learned of sexual intercourse from girl friends of her own age. It was "described as a pleasure indulged in by boys and girls, but not as related to reproduction." A year later she read in the *Ladies' Home Journal* an article called "How to Tell Your Children." She writes that the article contained "suggested methods for acquainting children with the fact that babies grow in the mother's body. Neither father's part nor how baby was delivered mentioned." Her mother gave her no sex instruction, nor did she prepare her for menstruation. Of that she learned from other girls who had older sisters. This information, she writes, had "no especial effect at the time, only I was grateful when my time came to know it was natural and a common occurrence among girls."

In the section relating to sex feeling, she states that the appearance of menstruation caused "sex consciousness and modesty, specially at home." She was given to sex reveries in childhood. These sometimes led to the practice of masturbation. Under sex experiences she mentions the exposure of sex organs

to other girls and the mutual handling of sex organs with a girl companion who spent her summers in the town where the writer of this questionnaire lived. This practice, indulged in once or twice a week at these times, was discontinued at 12 or 13 because of the "modesty and reserve that came with added years." The practice of solitary masturbation was continued up to the time of replying to the questionnaire. She believes the practice harmful, "either directly or indirectly, because it demands secretiveness and lessens one's self-respect." Asked "What has been its effect upon you?" she replies: "It has burdened my conscience with something of which I am ashamed." Concerning this point she adds:

> Having acquired the feeling as a small child that any sex pleasure was shameful and a great sin, and hearing as an older child that it caused great physical harm, one was of course careful to keep the practice secret, which was perhaps harmful mentally and morally, as was also the deep feelings of remorse and lowered self-esteem following such indulgences. Fear of possible physical danger was also a cause for mental strain.

She admits intense emotional relations with another girl during college days, but the relationship was dropped because their homes were in distant states. No similar relationship has been experienced since then. Of this relationship she writes: "There was nothing of which I was ever ashamed, but it was too absorbing. Such an intense friendship demands too much of the thoughts and time of a college student." Spooning was never indulged in: "My standard of the proper social relationship would not permit such intimacies and I never desired to lower the standard." As the reason for not marrying, she writes: "I have never been in love. I have enjoyed my free and independent life and the type of man I might have loved a few years ago would not be that of my more mature choice."

As the outstanding sex problem and worry of adolescence she mentions:

> I was very sensitive to any mention, however slight, of the processes of nature, such as pregnancy or childbirth, in the presence of my

mother, but talked freely on such subjects with girl friends. I have for the most part outgrown this peculiarity.

She states as the outstanding sex problem of childhood:

After I had learned about the first facts of reproduction I had a great aversion toward having my mother inform me and avoided giving her an opportunity for an intimate talk of this kind.

Question 5 in the section on opinions asks "Is it right to use methods for the prevention of pregnancy (birth control)? Kindly give reasons for your reply." Over 1,000 women answer this question, largely in the affirmative, as Table XXIX, which follows, shows:

TABLE XXIX

IS IT RIGHT TO USE METHODS FOR THE PREVENTION OF PREGNANCY (BIRTH CONTROL)? KINDLY GIVE REASONS FOR YOUR REPLY

	No.	%
Affirmative		
Yes	66	
Emphatic	12	
Under specified conditions	687	
Miscellaneous	71	
Dubious	79— 915	89.7
Negative		
No	12	
Emphatic	4	
With general comment	56	
Miscellaneous	11	
Dubious	21— 104	10.2
Total answering definitely	1019	100.0
Noncommittal	10	
Don't know	57	
Unanswered	114	
Total	1200	

The reasons most commonly advanced are economic and health considerations. One hundred and seventy-two believe that on these grounds the practice of birth control is warranted. Health

may refer to that of one or both parents or of the children, or bear on the good of the race. Typical replies under this head are the following:

"Yes. Some people are not fit mentally, morally, physically, or financially to have children."
"Sometimes. In case of illness, mental defect, poverty."

"Yes. Financial and physical reasons."
"Yes. Health, poverty, too large families for proper education."
"Yes. Because it is wrong to have more children than you can support and keep healthy."

One hundred and four offer as justifiable reasons for practicing birth control, if children cannot be properly cared for:

"Yes. I believe that a man and wife should not have more children than they can take care of."

Fifty-two say that children should be wanted:
"Yes. Children should be born only when they are wanted and can be properly cared for."
"Yes. Unwanted children are very pathetic."

Otner reasons suggested are:

"To limit size of family"	38
"If husband's demands are excessive"	16
"World over-populated; because of views advanced by Malthus, Sanger, etc."	17
"For poor or illiterate"	10
"For ethical reasons"	8
"Because it is normal expression"	22
"If self-control is impossible"	10
"If not harmful or injurious"	16

Of those opposed to birth-control measures, other than self-control, only 26 give definite reasons. Fifteen object on moral grounds. Five of these look upon it as murder:

"No. It is a moral question. I would put it on the same plane as taking human life."

Among reasons given by the other ten are:

"No. Breaks down social standards if no fear of having children as result of intercourse."

"Prevention of pregnancy puts sexual intercourse for men on a lower basis than that of animals. The knowledge coming with the power of control is used to protect man from the results of being more animal than the animals."

"No. The parental intention need not be conscious. What constitutes the essence of marriage, as I see it, is the general acceptance of all responsibility integral to the ethical completeness of sexual experience. When any part of this responsibility is consciously dissociated from the full enjoyment of the experience, the process sinks to the level of masturbation."

"No. Degrading to spirit, and laws of nature thwarted instead of self-control practiced."

"No. If intercourse takes place just for the pleasure and deliberately refusing to pay the possible price, it seems to me to degrade the act, which normally is natural, good, and blessed, to the level of lust—just as much as if it were paid for with money."

Six fear such measures because they are injurious to health. This group of views is summed up by one writer:

"Some methods are uncertain; others unsafe; therefore it is unsatisfactory and, to my mind, undignified."

Correlations of these affirmative and negative views with sex practices, information, etc., have not been attempted because of the small numbers involved in the negative group.

The question, whether it is right to practice birth control, ties up closely with the two questions which follow it, asking whether such information should be available for all married people and for unmarried. The former question is answered affirmatively by 899 (90.4 per cent) of those replying definitely. This corresponds closely with the 89.7 per cent who answer the preceding question affirmatively—the question, "Is it right to use methods for the prevention of pregnancy?" When it comes to having birth-control methods available for the unmarried, however, less than two-thirds reply in the affirmative. Three hundred and twelve (36.9 per cent) are opposed. The complete tables follow:

TABLE XXX

SHOULD INFORMATION REGARDING METHODS FOR BIRTH CONTROL BE AVAILABLE FOR ALL MARRIED PEOPLE? KINDLY GIVE REASONS FOR YOUR REPLY

	No.		%
Affirmative			
Yes	311		
Emphatic	14		
Under specified conditions	396		
Miscellaneous	120		
Dubious	58	899	90.4
Negative			
No	22		
Emphatic	4		
With general comment	30		
Miscellaneous	27		
Dubious	12	95	9.5
Total answering definitely		994	100.0
Noncommittal		19	
Don't know		52	
Unanswered		135	
Total		1200	

Among the reasons offered by those who consider that the information should be available for unmarried, as well as married, are:

"Yes. Decrease in illegitimacy and unhealthy offspring would more than compensate for any increase in promiscuity."

"People ought to know how to protect themselves from the exigencies of nature, present or future."

"Yes. In the interests of the race."

"To help prevent many of our social problems."

"For eugenic reasons."

"Yes. The truth, scientifically presented and the whole truth, can in the long run work only good."

"Yes. For more intelligent conduct."

"Wrong and harmful information is so general now that scientific knowledge should be given."

"Yes. Everyone ought to be given a fair chance to profit by scientific discovery and knowledge."

"Yes. Matter of general information."

TABLE XXXI

SHOULD INFORMATION REGARDING METHODS FOR BIRTH CONTROL BE AVAILABLE FOR UNMARRIED PEOPLE? KINDLY GIVE REASONS FOR YOUR REPLY

	No.		%
Affirmative			
Yes	138		
Emphatic	4		
Under specified conditions	265		
Miscellaneous	91		
Dubious	34	532	63.0
Negative			
No	96		
Emphatic	7		
With general comment	154		
Miscellaneous	32		
Dubious	23	312	36.9
Total answering definitely		844	100.0
Noncommittal		39	
Don't know		67	
Unanswered		250	
Total		1200	

"The more we air the whole subject the less trouble will we have with it. Our present secrecy, fear, and repression are responsible for most of our sex ills."

"Vital information which I think should be available to all."

"If ignorance is all that prevents them from preventing pregnancy, it is a little unfair and immoral."

Nearly 50 believe that the unmarried should have such information in order to prevent birth of illegitimate or unwanted children. Some consider the information a preparation for marriage, especially as the unmarried might feel more free to marry if they knew there was some freedom of choice as to family. Among those opposing such knowledge for the unmarried, over 100 fear that it might increase immorality. Several regard such knowledge as unnecessary for the unmarried.

Less than 1,000 reply to the next question: Should an abortion ever be performed? If so, under what conditions? This

question is answered affirmatively by 643, 71.8 per cent of those replying; and negatively by 252 (28.1 per cent).

TABLE XXXII

SHOULD AN ABORTION EVER BE PERFORMED? IF SO, UNDER WHAT CONDITIONS?

	No.		%
Affirmative			
Yes	8		
Emphatic	2		
Under specified conditions	541		
Miscellaneous	21		
Dubious	71	643	71.8
Negative			
No	179		
Emphatic	5		
With general comment	23		
Dubious	45	252	28.1
Total answering definitely		895	100.0
Noncommittal		28	
Don't know		104	
Unanswered		173	
Total		1200	

To save the life of mother or child is the reason given by more than 200. For health, safety, to prevent unwanted children, and to save from social stigma the unmarried mother are among other reasons offered. Less than 100 of those replying in the negative give their reasons. Some of these consider it murder, a sin, dangerous.

Question 8 of this section asks: What is your attitude toward prostitution? The trend of the 1,000 or more replies is indicated in the table which follows. Although 30 view it as a necessary evil and 24 favor regulation, these constitute only about 5 per cent of the total number replying.

The next questions, 9 and 10, relative to whether sex instruction should be given to boys and girls, are answered affirmatively by practically the entire group, as may be seen from the tables XXXIV and XXXV.

TABLE XXXIII

WHAT IS YOUR ATTITUDE TOWARD PROSTITUTION?

	No.		%	
Attitude indicated				
Menace to society; dangerous	49		4.8	
Evil, crime, curse, unjustifiable	214		21.2	
Unnecessary	68		6.7	
Viewed with abhorrence, disapproval, pity	273		27.1	
Necessary evil	30	634	2.9	63.0
Action recommended				
Should be abolished, suppressed	180		17.8	
Should be prohibited by law	19		1.8	
Should be decreased, eliminated, prevented, by education	50		4.9	
Calls for reform in marriage law	9		.8	
Should be regulated and supervised	24	282	2.3	28.0
Miscellaneous				
Causes	20			
Single standard urged	10			
Degrading to prostitutes	4			
An evil that will disappear	6			
General	50	90		8.9
Total answering definitely		1006		100.0
Don't know		35		
Unanswered		159		
Total		1200		

TABLE XXXIV

SHOULD BOYS AND YOUNG MEN RECEIVE INSTRUCTION WITH REGARD TO SEX MATTERS?

	No.	
Affirmative		
Yes	975	
Emphatic	88	
Miscellaneous	57	
Dubious	11	1131
Noncommittal		5
Don't know		9
Unanswered		55
Total		1200

TABLE XXXV

SHOULD GIRLS AND YOUNG WOMEN RECEIVE INSTRUCTION WITH REGARD TO SEX MATTERS?

	No.	
Affirmative		
Yes	1026	
Emphatic	56	
Miscellaneous	50	
Dubious	6—	1138
Noncommittal		3
Don't know		9
Unanswered		50
Total		1200

The two following tables show by whom, in the opinion of

TABLE XXXVI

SHOULD BOYS AND YOUNG MEN RECEIVE INSTRUCTION WITH REGARD TO SEX MATTERS? FROM WHOM?

	No.		%
One or both parents			
Parents	254		
Father	98		
Mother	5—	357	32.9
One or both parents and others			
Parents, teachers	253		
Parents, physicians	73		
Parents, teachers, physicians	78		
Parents, others	44		
Father, teachers	52		
Father, physicians	39		
Father, teacher, physician	22		
Father, others	21—	582	53.7
Others			
Teachers	35		
Physicians	29		
Anyone qualified	54		
Miscellaneous	25—	143	13.2
Total answering definitely		1082	100.0
Noncommittal		8	
Don't know		22	
Unanswered		88	
Total		1200	

TABLE XXXVII

SHOULD GIRLS AND YOUNG WOMEN RECEIVE INSTRUCTION WITH REGARD TO SEX MATTERS? FROM WHOM?

	No.	%
One or both parents		
Parents	193	
Mother	191— 384	34.6
One or both parents and others		
Parents, teachers	219	
Parents, physicians	47	
Parents, teachers, physicians	59	
Parents, others	30	
Mother, teachers	116	
Mother, physician	45	
Mother, teacher, physician	35	
Mother, others	42— 593	53.4
Others		
Teachers	43	
Physicians	21	
Anyone qualified	45	
Miscellaneous	23— 132	11.9
Total answering definitely	1109	100.0
Noncommittal	5	
Don't know	11	
Unanswered	75	
Total	1200	

those replying, the information should be given. One or both parents, teachers, and physicians are the sources most commonly advised.

The age at which sex instruction should begin is stated in such general, overlapping terms that classification is difficult if not impossible. Some state definite ages; others, periods of development, such as childhood, adolescence, etc. Others relate it to school periods, on entering school, in high school, etc. Still others consider it in relation to the mental interest of the child: When they first ask questions, etc. It is somewhat difficult, therefore, to state even approximately how many, for example, believe that sex instruction should be given, say between 2 and 6, because we do not know how many of the following groups should be included in the specified age divisions:

infancy, as soon as entering school, as soon as able to talk, kindergarten, etc. Inasmuch as it is impossible to classify by ages with any exactness, the various groups are merely enumerated. It is interesting to note that 325, nearly one-third of those replying to the question, consider that the time of giving information should vary with the child, according to his needs, curiosity, or interest.

TABLE XXXVIII

SHOULD BOYS AND YOUNG MEN RECEIVE INSTRUCTION IN REGARD TO SEX MATTERS? AT WHAT AGE SHOULD IT BEGIN?

	No.
Before they ask questions or show curiosity	5
When they first ask questions	182
When they show curiosity, interest, need	143
As soon as able to talk or understand	36
Babyhood, infancy, early, young	164
Two to four	33
Five to six	74
Before going to school	11
Kindergarten	4
As soon as entering school	11
Primary school, lower grades	8
High school, college	6
Before adolescence	29
Beginning of adolescence	11
Adolescence	32
After puberty	1
Childhood	9
Seven to eleven	131
Twelve to eighteen	80
Miscellaneous	17
Total answering definitely	987
Noncommittal	51
Don't know	40
Unanswered	122
Total	1200

In the opinion of more than three-fourths of those replying to the question, What should be the main item of sex instruction? its scientific aspects should be explained. A considerable

TABLE XXXIX

SHOULD GIRLS AND YOUNG WOMEN RECEIVE INSTRUCTION IN REGARD TO SEX MATTERS? AT WHAT AGE SHOULD IT BEGIN?

	No.
Before they ask questions or show curiosity	2
When they first ask questions	186
When they show curiosity, interest, need	139
As soon as able to talk or understand	29
Babyhood, infancy, early, young	157
Two to four	34
Five to six	83
Before going to school	11
Kindergarten	4
As soon as entering school	12
Primary school, lower grades	9
High school, college	10
Before adolescence	56
Beginning of adolescence	4
Adolescence	23
After puberty	1
Childhood	8
Seven to eleven	178
Twelve to eighteen	71
Miscellaneous	19
Total answering definitely	1036
Noncommittal	47
Don't know	16
Unanswered	101
Total	1200

majority believe that social, ethical, or religious standards must be implanted. While nearly a quarter of the group specify scientific exposition exclusively, only 4.8 per cent would limit sex instruction to social, ethical, or religious principles.

That a significant relationship exists between affirmative and negative views and indulgence in certain sex practices appears from several correlations worked out in preceding pages. The tabulating of this material brought to light a curious balancing of two numbers: One hundred and thirty-six of the 1,200 women denied indulging in any of the sex practices mentioned in the questionnaire. An exactly corresponding number admitted sex

TABLE XL

SHOULD BOYS AND YOUNG MEN RECEIVE INSTRUCTION IN REGARD TO SEX MATTERS? WHAT SHOULD BE ITS MAIN ITEMS?

	No.		%
Scientific			
Biological	56		
Physiological	87		
Biological—physiological	36		
Miscellaneous	13	192	22.3
Social (social, ethical, religious)		53	6.1
Scientific—social			
Biological—social	30		
Physiological—social	364		
Biological—physiological—social	37		
Miscellaneous	56	487	56.7
Miscellaneous		126	14.6
Total answering definitely		858	100.0
Noncommittal		24	
Don't know		55	
Unanswered		263	
Total		1200	

intercourse. While it would be rash to assert that this particular experience constitutes the opposite extreme of refraining from all sex practices, some claims in that direction may be ventured: The practice involves a greater risk, socially, than the solitary practice of masturbation or carrying on a homosexual relationship. The fact that only 12.7 per cent of the entire group reporting indulged in sex intercourse, while 51.1 per cent admit homosexual feeling or practice and 66 per cent the practice of masturbation, suggests that women feel less desire for sex intercourse, or that they are strongly deterred from indulging in it, or that they are more reluctant to admit having had the experience. Perhaps the 136 who admit sex intercourse are stronger in their desires, or more willing to take chances, or more honest than the rest of the group. It is interesting at least to compare this, in a sense, extreme minority group with a minority of the same size which denies any sex practices in respect to opinion. This is done in Table XLII. Unfortunately, members of both groups

TABLE XLI

SHOULD GIRLS AND YOUNG WOMEN RECEIVE INSTRUCTION IN REGARD TO SEX MATTERS? WHAT SHOULD BE ITS MAIN ITEMS?

	No.		%
Scientific			
Biological	41		
Physiological	106		
Biological—physiological	40		
Miscellaneous	16—	203	21.3
Social (social, ethical, religious)		46	4.8
Scientific—social			
Biological—social	27		
Physiological—social	434		
Biological—physiological—social	59		
Miscellaneous	42—	562	59.4
Miscellaneous		134	14.1
Total answering definitely		945	100.0
Noncommittal		20	
Don't know		27	
Unanswered		208	
Total		1200	

failed to express opinions on several of the questions asked. Further, the division of little more than a hundred replies into two groups produces numbers too small for their proportion to be tested mathematically. The difference is so great, however, as to suggest that, applied to a sufficiently large group, it might have proved significant.

Growing familiarity with the material contained in the questionnaires suggested that its importance lay less in the strict enumeration of affirmative and negative views than in an examination of the indirect emotional evidence referred to in the introduction. The knowledge that 622 women did not regard sex intercourse as necessary for complete physical and mental health, while 394, more than a third of those replying, did believe it necessary, seemed less edifying than such a statement as the following: "To tell the truth, I have no more personal interest in sex than I have in leprosy. I cannot think it will ever touch me." Does the rest of the questionnaire support this apparent

TABLE XLII

COMPARISON OF GROUP ADMITTING SEX INTERCOURSE WITH GROUP DENYING ALL SEX PRACTICES, IN RELATION TO OPINIONS

V–1. Necessity of sex intercourse for complete physical and mental health.

	Affirmative		Negative		Total answering definitely	Unanswered or indefinite as to opinion	Grand total
	No.	%	No.	%			
Admit sex intercourse	83	79.0	29	23.7	112	24	136
Deny all sex practices	22	20.9	93	76.2	115	21	136
Total	105	100.0	122	100.0	227	45	272

V–2a. Whether or not a young man is ever justified in having sex intercourse before marriage.

Admit sex intercourse	76	90.4	41	27.1	117	19	136
Deny all sex practices	8	9.5	110	72.8	118	18	136
Total	84	100.0	151	100.0	235	37	272

V–2b. Whether or not a young woman is ever justified in having sex intercourse before marriage.

Admit sex intercourse	71	91.0	40	28.9	111	25	136
Deny all sex practices	7	8.9	98	71.0	105	31	136
Total	78	100.0	138	100.0	216	56	272

V–3a. Whether a husband is ever justified in having sex intercourse with a woman or women other than his wife.

Admit sex intercourse	69	86.2	48	30.3	117	19	136
Deny all sex practices	11	13.7	110	69.6	121	15	136
Total	80	100.0	158	100.0	238	34	272

V–3b. Whether a wife is ever justified in having sex intercourse with a man or men other than her husband.

Admit sex intercourse	56	84.8	51	34.0	107	29	136
Deny all sex practices	10	15.1	99	66.0	109	27	136
Total	66	100.0	150	100.0	216	56	272

V–4. Whether married people are justified in having intercourse except for the purpose of having children.

Admit sex intercourse	120	61.5	2	6.4	122	14	136
Deny all sex practices	75	38.4	29	93.5	104	32	136
Total	195	100.0	31	100.0	226	46	272

detachment, or does this chance comparison imply that sex is hardly less loathsome than leprosy?

The writer of this statement is a woman of 43, a teacher of philosophy; a woman who, in spite of having been near a nervous breakdown several times, regards her life as "happy, very satisfactory, and reasonably successful." One would like to know more than her replies reveal of the evolution that lies between curiosity at 10 concerning "where the new baby came from" to the following views on marriage voiced at 43:

> I cannot, even at this late date, understand how people can marry. The fact that a nice girl wants to go into a bedroom and undress before a man is just beyond me, and that is what marriage means. To say nothing of sex intercourse, of which I'd be so ashamed I'd never hold my head up again. A woman's charm to me is her innocence. I have heard many wives talk and I gathered that there was no limit to married behavior. I prefer to cultivate the head-end of my body, giving the body only such attention as will keep it in health. Besides, when Paul could say that "he that marries does well, and he that does not, does better," I prefer to go through life on the higher level and let the earthly institution pass by, because I have something better.

While the transitional stages from simple childish curiosity about a highly common incident to this remarkable formulation on a no less common institution are necessarily obscure, certain aspects emerge in response to various sections of the questionnaire.

First of all we learn that she received "very little" information from her parents. Her mother answered her question evasively and "not with all the truth." She was told not to ask questions. It left her curiosity unsatisfied and stimulated her to seek information elsewhere. Her nurse proved a more satisfactory informant. She told her "that people had babies just like cows, horses, and pigs (I lived on a stock farm) had their little ones, but that it was all lovely, etc. I did not think so, and don't yet." She recalls that at 10 this information shocked her.

At 15 her mother told her that a certain girl was sick.

> I asked what was the matter. Then she told me that when girls got to a certain age, they had a *drain on their systems*. The school bell rang and I went off not having the slightest information from what she said. I got all my advice from schoolgirls of my class and supplemented this with reading doctor books.

In this way she was prepared for the experience of menstruation. Its appearance, she states, caused her shame and led to self-pity.

While teaching in the South she learned about the practice of masturbation among negroes. At 20 she learned of several contraceptive measures. About this time she learned also of the practice of prostitution and that "the worst disease known and more common than I care to admit" often resulted.

She denies any sex feeling or experience. She never spooned, as

> I always regarded spooning as a pretty low way to entertain oneself. I was in a big family and we always had young people around (but the evenings were spent in wholesome jollification). Absenting oneself for the hammock with a fellow wasn't allowed and we never missed it, either. Our mental and spiritual lives were accented.

Sex thoughts she "always regards as something to be shunned like the devil."

Fear of marrying and hatred of menstruation are recalled as the outstanding sex problems of adolescence. The latter she "had to endure and take philosophically as other girls did."

While it is obviously impossible to determine by what mental or emotional processes certain strong convictions are reached, sometimes, as here, a consistent trend may be discerned in the fragments submitted. The origin of the feelings and attitudes remains obscure, but evidence of unpleasantness in connection with ordinary biological functions and relationships is clearly indicated throughout this woman's replies. Her mother keeps her in ignorance and makes her feel that questions on such matters are out of place. To her childish way of thinking, human birth is reduced to the level of the farmyard. Even menstruation

is mentioned furtively. A subject that her mother can't discuss seems somewhat of a disgrace. Perversion, disease, licentiousness color the already distorted picture. To the home taboo is added the taboo of the church. At 10, 15, and 20 a rising tide of contaminated thoughts and feelings associates itself with sex. The replies show no straightforward, wholesome, offsetting information or experience, nothing from the parents to counteract the abrupt disclosures of the nurse or the questionably accurate accounts of companions. No Browning: ". . . Nor soul helps flesh more, now, than flesh helps soul!" to weigh against St. Paul: "He that does not does better."

Another woman replies to the question, What should be the main items of sex instruction for girls? "I would warn them of the dangers." Does she explain elsewhere what these dangers are and why they should be stressed? Does she reveal how sex and dangers came to be associated so prominently in her thoughts?

Reading the questionnaire through, we find that when this woman was about 12 years old she heard her family discuss an occurrence in the neighborhood, the birth of an illegitimate child. The full force of the scandal was not lost upon her. Once she was not allowed to attend church, or, in fact, leave the house, because of an eruption which she had on her face, later diagnosed as acne. Her mother, in answer to the girl's insistent demand to be allowed to attend some special function, "explained vaguely that 'bad girls' had complexions like mine and that some one might think that was what was the matter with me." To this, she writes:

> I replied that people who *knew* me would *never* think of such a thing and I didn't care what other people thought. I was heartbroken. I weep now as I write to recall what a wretched young girl I was, how such an ugly thing hurt my whole being, how I revolted to think that there was such ugliness in this world and how terrible it was that I should be told of it in such a way. I blamed my mother (always to myself) severely *then,* and now wonder whether I would do much better under the circumstances.

Under a section entitled Sex Experiences, she mentions the following:

> At the age of about 10 I was sent to a tinsmith's shop on business. The old man, a bachelor, a friend of my father's and fond of children, held me on his lap. His next procedure—opening my dress, etc.—was so strange to me, so ugly, that as soon as I could I ran home; didn't go back to that shop for years, but never have told anyone about it. Only by this questionnaire do I clearly understand what caused the old man to do such a thing.

In another case we find the person underscoring with double lines negative replies to the first three questions of this section. She indicates that a young man or woman is justified in having sex intercourse before marriage "under NO conditions". She then expresses the view that marriage should be entered into for the "glory of God," to bring into the world children as nearly perfect physically and mentally as possible. She is opposed to using birth-control methods or making such information available. She considers that "any prevention of the maturing of the germ becomes murder." Prostitution, she feels, should be stamped out by police authorities as far as possible. She believes in the education of boys and girls in sex matters even before the child begins to ask questions. The main items to cover are, "The sacredness of the body, its care and development for the sake of the child to come, self-restraint." The girl, in addition, should be taught about motherhood and "enough of the dangers that beset a woman to enable her to protect herself from evil men and women."

These replies reveal an attitude bordering on horror in regard to sex intercourse for any other purpose than the bringing of healthy children into the world, limited, of course, to married people. The double underscoring, characterizing even birth control as murder, and the vigor with which she would stamp out prostitution, reveal a highly emotional attitude toward sex matters. From the extreme of horror she soars to reverence and awe, furthering the "glory of God" with respect to permissible sex intercourse. Hence she emphasizes the sacredness of the body and its care for the sake of the child. For the girl, however,

she wishes warnings of the dangers that beset a woman. Her replies to other questions give an inkling of how she came to feel so strongly on these matters.

We find that she is a woman 44 years of age, in good general health, subject to "nerves" and occasional interruptions in her work. She gives a history of a partial nervous breakdown. She describes herself as a child who was not observant and one whose parents never mentioned anything regarding sex. She claims that the earliest real information she had was from a young married friend when she was 30 years old. She says, "My mother never having spoken of sex to me, I naturally never asked questions." This is contradicted somewhat by the reply that follows, to the effect that her mother answered her questions evasively, or said that she "was too young" or "that 'nice' people did not think of such things." She gleaned her knowledge of where babies came from, and of sex matters in general, from George Eliot's books. She elaborates the fact that as a child she was kept totally ignorant of sex and sex experiences.

> My problem was a desire to know something about the facts of life, and a hesitation to ask anyone. I pored over the dictionary and the Old Testament, at stages in my growth, in my desire to find out for self-protection what the act was that took place between a man and a woman. I remember being afraid to sit beside a man in a railroad car lest I catch some sort of germ that would make me a social outcast.

She first learned of sexual intercourse at the age of 30, and of birth control five or ten years later. She gained knowledge of venereal diseases from books written by a doctor who considered these diseases terribly widespread.

She was not prepared for the experience of menstruation and her first period came without warning. "I naturally thought I was bleeding to death." She was 14 at the time. In college she heard three lectures on sex. "We were very much embarrassed. I was hot and red. . . . In my case the sole fact gleaned was that menstruation ceased during pregnancy. One summer in the mountains my period was two weeks late. Not knowing how women become pregnant, I was worried nearly out of my mind."

She thinks that sex thoughts should not be encouraged. Usually she tries to drive them from her mind and is successful. She never permits them free range, nor does she deliberately cultivate them. She is not conscious of stimulation unless a movie is very suggestive. "Then I feel wrong in being there." She gives no history of sex experience of any kind except crushes. "By this I mean a deep admiration for women who have certain characteristics I admire." This is not associated in her mind with sex. She has never had friendships with men.

In the foregoing replies we see attitudes of fear and guilt quite obviously rooted in rebuffs at questions that "nice" people did not ask. The intense desire to know these forbidden matters drives her to the dictionary, the Bible, and fiction. Each scrap gleaned has inevitably an evil connotation. Next she shows herself striving to repress sex thoughts and reveries. And usually she is successful. Occasional lapses are followed by a feeling of guilt. The only permissible sex expression she finds in intercourse for the purpose of bringing into the world children as nearly perfect mentally and physically as possible. Sex in all other forms is abhorrent to her, but this is for the "glory of God." So, in the mature opinions expressed we see faithfully reflected attitudes of an earlier period.

As opposed to the decided views just cited, we find in questionnaire 157 a judicial, impersonal note with some discussion of pro's and con's. Sex is not associated with fear, shame, or guilt. This woman does not know whether sex intercourse is necessary for complete mental and physical health, "but in rare cases it may be necessary for greatest development." She conceives the possibility of sex intercourse outside of marriage

> if there are no social or economic consequences disastrous to the individual concerned. . . . Only when example or consequences concern others is there, for me, *any question* of right or wrong. For the normal person sexual relations are only one of many things in a busy life.

She believes that boys and girls alike should be given sex instruction by parents or older people at the earliest possible

age, depending upon development and understanding of the child. The items should be "everything the child is capable of understanding."

The replies in this questionnaire as a whole give a picture of a person capable of thinking about sex problems in an objective way. Is this ability to discuss these opinions in a critical, easy manner, explained by anything in the writer's personal history? We find she is a young woman of 27, holding an M.A. degree in history and political science; in very good general health, never finding it necessary to leave her work for long periods of time; not inclined to worry, and with no history of a nervous breakdown. She considers her life happy, satisfactory, successful; work exceptionally congenial; personal life full of interest, ambitions being fulfilled.

She recalls curiosity at the age of 6 or 7, over the fact that boys and girls are made differently. Her earliest information was received from her mother at this time. It was "clear and scientific—aroused no morbid curiosity." She remarks about the nature of this information that it was

> a more complete explanation than is usually given children possibly because popular novels and grown-up books were read at age of seven and eight years.

She always went to her mother with these questions, never met a rebuff; always received truthful answers; was never put off with stork stories. Her questions were answered whenever asked "as freely and frankly at age of 10 as at age of 20." Her mother's explanations satisfied her completely so far as facts and physical aspects went.

> Only for the purpose of *understanding* emotionally did I turn to books.

> At age of 10 normal sexual intercourse was understandable, but this less normal form (masturbation) of sexual gratification was beyond my comprehension.

She learned of methods of birth control somewhere between 10 and 13. Has always felt strongly that birth-control knowledge

should be widespread. Had plenty of sex instruction in college, and from mother and older people, and a great deal of scientific reading. Received explanation of physical relation of menstruation to childbirth, health, etc. Information was accepted as normal and natural.

In answer to the item, "Criticize the instruction from the point of view of its particular value to you in your sex life," she replies

I have no criticism to make of the manner in which sex information was presented to me because my mother and older friends understood my temperament and stages of development. There was always the most unrestrained and honest discussion. Both my mother and I were almost without emotional self-consciousness.

In another section she states that she is perfectly conscious of sex feelings, but they are

a desire for the external forms of sexual excitement, not sexual intercourse. This is not due to any coldness of feeling, but rather to the fact that social and economic advantages only, in connection with a sufficient amount of emotion, would persuade me to marry. I should not indulge in sexual relations without marriage, not for moral reasons, but because of the loss of social and economic advantages.

She says she has been in love several times and engaged twice. During that time she lived through all the usual phases.

Although modern love-making is somewhat unrestrained, I have never done anything which I regard as vulgar or in bad taste. Even under stress of intense emotion, I have always been able to see a situation intellectually, to get a maximum of emotional pleasure and yet have a conscious control of feeling.

She is not troubled by sex reveries and thoughts, although such occur to her. Recalls no early sex experiences or intense emotional experience with other women. Recognizes her feelings toward women as not intense, but resembling emotion felt toward men, without emotional expression. Has found her friendships helpful and stimulating and sees no reason for discontinuing anything so harmless. Although not engaged at present, she expects to marry if she meets the right man.

It is apparent that her curiosity regarding matters of sex was adequately satisfied so far as she can remember. There is no evidence here, as in the preceding cases, of distorted views, baffled speculation, or unfortunate experiences.

The few cases cited show that a fairly close connection may be found between strikingly expressed opinions and the manner in which knowledge of sex matters was acquired. Such an approach to a study of opinions presents obvious difficulties, involving as it does a review of the entire questionnaire. When each opinion is correlated with replies to questions in the section entitled "Sex Information," practically no association is found. No significantly high correlation occurs, for example, between a negative opinion and receiving truthful or untruthful information from parents. On the other hand, a very close association is found between opinion and experience. Persons who regard as permissible sex practices that ordinarily are viewed as irregular or illicit show a disproportionate indulgence in such practices. This high correlation, however, throws no light on how they came to hold the opinion or indulge in the practice. On the other hand it would be impossible to generalize from individual records, quite aside from the dangers arising from purely personal judgments. Further, units of measurement applicable to subjective material have not been devised. Categorical replies to certain questions sometimes are illumined by comments in other sections. The full significance may be lost in a statistical treatment. Properly to establish the connection between opinion and experience or knowledge, we should have to take the filled-out questionnaire as a whole, with all the risks of individual interpretation. Opinions on the specific questions asked in the section so entitled sometimes find fuller expression in reply to other questions, and the background from which they emerge extends all through the questionnaire.

APPENDIX I

WHY THEY FAILED TO ANSWER.—A FOLLOW-UP OF THE QUESTIONNAIRE ON THE SEX LIFE OF UNMARRIED COLLEGE WOMEN

Sociological studies based on the results of questionnaires sent to considerable numbers of people are frequently criticized because of the small proportion of replies received compared to the number sent out. This has occurred in connection with the studies of the sex life of normal women presented in this volume.

As has already been explained, in the case of the study of unmarried women, college graduates of at least five years' standing, a list was prepared of 10,000 names of graduates of women's colleges and coeducational universities. A letter was sent to them explaining in considerable detail the purpose of the study, the need for it, and the method by which it would be conducted. Their coöperation was asked and a card and a stamped and directed envelope were enclosed. The women were asked to sign and return the card if they were willing to help in the study or if they wished to read the questionnaire before agreeing to do so. We received, in reply, 2,515 signed cards. This, it will be observed, is about a 25 per cent return. The questionnaires were sent to this number of women and of these, 1,183 filled out and returned them. This is 11.8 per cent of those who received the original letter and 47 per cent of those to whom the questionnaire was sent.

It seemed to us that it might contribute something to a study of the questionnaire method if we could discover why 1,332 women, who were sufficiently interested to ask for it, should have failed to fill out the questionnaire. We, therefore, undertook a follow-up. As the returned questionnaires were anony-

mous, it was obvious that we must send the follow-up to the entire 2,515. Accordingly, the following letter was sent to these women:

My dear .....:

In the questionnaire study relating to the sex life of unmarried women in which you indicated your interest, 1,100 filled-in papers—or 46 per cent of the number sent out—have been returned.[1]

From the standpoint of scientific validity, it is desirable that the Committee should be able to present the reasons why 54 per cent of the total group failed to respond.

If you have already answered, please disregard this letter. If, after examining the questionnaire, you decided not to answer it, will you kindly indicate on the enclosed the reasons for your decision.

Very truly yours,
(Signed) Katharine Bement Davis.

In one-half of these letters was placed a directed postcard on which was printed the following:

Please check reason for not answering Questionnaire:

1. Lack of time.
2. Lack of interest.
3. Disapproval of study.
4. Subject distasteful.
5. Life too uneventful to make helpful contribution.
6. Write in any other reason.

In the other half was a stamped and addressed envelope with a single sheet questionnaire on which was printed the following:

TO BE RETURNED

in enclosed addressed and stamped envelope

Please check any of the following reasons why you decided not to fill in and return the questionnaire:

1. Disapproval of study, because
   (a) Sex is already too much emphasized in education.
   (b) Of the recalling of experiences too unpleasant or personal.
2. Lack of interest.
3. Subject distasteful.

[1] The remaining 83 came in *after* this follow up letter was sent out.

Subject disgusting.
Subject nauseating.

4. Reasons other than those indicated.

In addition, a detailed statement covering your attitude toward the subject would be greatly appreciated.

The clerk addressing the letters made no choice, but simply enclosed postcard or questionnaire sheet each in one-half the total number. From the 1,332 who did *not* fill out the questionnaires, 268 postcards and 242 question sheets, or 38.3 per cent, were returned. The replies are presented herewith in tabular form.

It will be observed that the sheet which was to be returned in the envelope made no mention of reason "1. Lack of time," and reason "5. Life too uneventful to make helpful contribution"—reasons which appear on the postcard; while all of the reasons on the sheet appear on the card, though, in two instances, in a briefer statement. On the postcard returns, 110 individuals checked "1. Lack of time," as their reason for not replying. This is 41 per cent of those replying by card. An additional 41 checked No. 1 as one of two or more reasons. This gives us 151 women, or 56.3 per cent, who used this reason.

On both forms, space for other reasons than those mentioned was given. On the sheet questionnaire, 42 women, or 17.3 per cent, wrote in "Lack of time." Two others gave it as one of two reasons.

The difference in percentage between the two groups is so large as to be certainly significant. Inasmuch as there seems to be not the most remote possibility that the groups of women were different, it would seem that the difference lay in the form of the question and the kind of questionnaire. "Lack of time" was the first reason on the card. It was suggestive. The easiest thing to do was to check it.

Forty individuals receiving the postcard checked reason "5. Life too uneventful to make helpful contribution." Thirty-eight others gave it as one of two reasons, making 78, or 29.1 per cent, who used it. On the question sheet, 21 women wrote this in. Two others wrote it in as one of two reasons, making 23,

TABLE I

REASONS GIVEN BY UNMARRIED WOMEN COLLEGE GRADUATES FOR FAILURE TO RETURN QUESTIONNAIRES ON SEX LIFE SENT THEM IN RESPONSE TO THEIR WRITTEN REQUESTS TO RECEIVE THEM

Given by 268 women who returned the postcard follow-up			Given by the 242 women who returned the question sheet follow-up		
Reasons and grouping of reasons	No. who checked reasons	% who checked reasons	Reasons and grouping of reasons	No. who checked reasons	% who checked reasons
I. Reasons suggested on postcard follow-up:			I. Reasons suggested in question sheet follow-up:		
1. Lack of time	110	41.0	1. Disapproval of study because		
2. Lack of interest	2		(a) Sex is already too much emphasized in education	7	
3. Disapproval of study	6		(b) Of the recalling of circumstances too unpleasant or too personal	14	
4. Subject distasteful	17		2. Lack of interest	13	
5. Life too uneventful to make helpful contribution	40	14.9	3. (a) Subject distasteful 27		
1 and 2	5		(b) Subject disgusting 3		
1 and 4	7		(c) Subject nauseating 2		
1 and 5	26		—	32	
1, 4, and 5	2		1a and b	2	
All five	1		1a and 3a	7	
2 and 5	1		1a and 3b	1	
3 and 4	4		1a, 2, and 3b	1	
3 and 5	1		1a, b, and 3a	1	
4 and 5	7		1b and 3a	3	
			1b and 3c	2	
			2 and 3a	4	
			3a and b	1	
			3a and c	1	
			3a, b, and c	5	
Total in Group I	229	85.4	Total in Group I	94	38.7
II. (All reasons on question sheet follow-up were suggested on postcard follow-up.)			II. Reasons mentioned on card but not on question sheet:		
			1. Lack of time	42	17.3
			2. Life too uneventful to make helpful contribution	21	8.7
			1 and 2	1	
			1 and 3a	1	
			Total in Group II	65	26.8

TABLE I (*continued*).

III. Reasons not suggested on either form of follow-up:			III. Reasons not suggested on either form of follow-up:		
A. General reasons			A. General reasons		
1. Questionnaire never received	3		1. Questionnaire never received	5	
2. Married when questionnaire arrived	4		2. Married when questionnaire arrived	7	
3. Ill when questionnaire arrived	4		To be married soon	2	
4. Illness in family	2		3. Ill when questionnaire arrived	6	
5. Lost the questionnaire	2		Illness and vague memory	1	
6. Absence from home (family sent in cards)	2		4. Illness in family	4	
7. Procrastination	1		5. Lost the questionnaire	6	
Procrastination plus new duties	1		6. Absence from home	2	
8. Dead			7. Procrastination	2	
9. Memories of early experiences too vague to be of value	2		Procrastination plus new duties	1	
			8. Dead	1	
			9. Memories of early experiences too vague to be of value	12	
Total in Group III A	21	7.8	Total in Group III A	49	20.2
B. Personal reasons			B. Personal reasons		
"My confession had such assurance I feared I might appear egoistic"	1		"Divorced. Used maiden name on request card but thought it not fair to answer"	1	
"Could not answer with sufficient honesty to be of any scientific value"	1		"My old-fashioned bringing up has rendered any such experiences as were given in your report not only impossible but unthinkable"	1	
"Had a new experience too recently to be correctly judged"	1		"Was passing through a difficult experience; too near it to judge it fairly"	1	
"Impossible to answer so as to satisfy myself"	1		"Impossible to analyze as minutely as I wished"	1	
"Too ignorant of subject to answer all the questions intelligently"	1		"A study of the questionnaire aroused in me thoughts and feelings I'd prefer to remain dormant"	1	
"Above the interesting age"	1		Did not wish to go over life and think out answers. "Sex is such a powerful factor and influence in daily life that I would rather not have it enter my life more than it does"	1	
			"An abnormality due to injury in childhood would make my answer valueless"	1	
			A very unpleasant personal experience prevented	1	
			"We were brought up to be gentlewomen. All the ideas treated in your questionnaire were foreign to my thoughts"	1	
			Answer would reveal identity	1	
			"My sex life is decidedly subnormal"	1	

TABLE I (*continued*).

Given by 268 women who returned the postcard follow-up			Given by the 242 women who returned the questionnaire follow-up		
Reasons and grouping of reasons	No. who checked reasons	% who checked reasons	Reasons and grouping of reasons	No. who checked reasons	% who checked reasons
			B. Personal reasons (*continued*)		
			Did not *dare* answer after reading questionnaire. Has the habit of masturbation. Until reading questionnaire had thought action "purely muscular." Had not connected it with sex	1	
			Could not be accurate without adding a good deal that could not be tabulated	1	
			"Have never been analytical and have no adequate understanding of terms used"	1	
			"It aroused so much sex feeling I felt it only decent to tear it up"	1	
			"The soul-searching involved would depress. I think I am happy and do not want to entertain any doubts"	1	
			Checked "other reasons" but gave none	1	
Total in Group III B	6	2.3	Total in Group III B	17	7.0

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TABLE I (*continued*).

C. Reasons based on criticism of questionnaire			C. Reasons based on criticism of questionnaire		
Questionnaire unscientific	1		Doubts value of study	1	
Questions too intimate	1		Questionnaire too personal and intimate	4	
"I object to parts of questionnaire" (parts unmentioned)	1		Questions ill chosen	1	
"Do not like the phrasing of the questions"	1		"The outlines have been developed by minds that are oversexed. The questions are silly and disgusting"	1	
Questions not sufficiently subjective	1		Fears it unsafe to base theories on introspection and recollection	1	
Questionnaire not sufficiently anonymous	3		Disliked "tone" of questionnaire. Thinks it will do more harm than good	1	
"Cannot see how any decent or civilized persons would know the answers to the questions"	1		Thinks the subject important but that it should be made by physicians or psychologists through personal interviews	1	
"Questions too definite on subjects on which it seemed impossible to have any but very indefinite memories. Highly probable that only answers that will be given will be by abnormally introspective individuals and hence misleading"	1		"You cannot get scientific results this way, as you cannot check up data"	1	
Intended to answer but was deterred by the analysis of first 500 and newspaper publicity	1		Disapproved unfortunate newspaper publicity last year	4	
"You seem to me to be tearing a flower to pieces to see how it is made. Such dissection obviously ends the career of the flower and adds nothing to the essential knowledge of life. I consider your pursuit inept and blundering to the last degree. Can you describe or explain ecstasy? Art is the only means of approach in such matters, and art can only convey it by omission"	1		"Only persons oversexed or who have had abnormal experiences could answer many of the questions. Those who have had a normal healthy life will not be likely to answer and the statistics will therefore be unreliable"	1	
			"This (sex) constitutes the greatest problem of my life. I am anxious to get the report of the committee and learn what suggestions they have to make. But I suppose those who suffer are those who fail to respond because they cannot allow themselves to dwell on such details without increasing the nervous tension"	1	
Total in Group III C	12	4.4	Total in Group III C	17	7.0

or 9.5 per cent, of this group who gave this reason. This difference is also significant.

The total number who checked the five reasons given on the postcard is 229, or 85.4 per cent, leaving only 14.6 per cent who gave other reasons. On the sheet questionnaire, only 94, or 38.7 per cent, checked the suggested reasons, while 61.3 per cent wrote in their own reasons. The difference between the two groups is certainly significant. Probably the greater privacy of the question sheet which was returned in a sealed envelope, together with the possibility of adding additional sheets where necessary to make their position clear, is a larger factor in the difference.

The reasons given for failing to fill out and return the questionnaire, which are based on criticism of the questionnaire, itself, are interesting, but there are not as many as might have been anticipated. There were only 29 of them in the two groups, or 5.7 per cent of the total reasons.

The last two replies on the list of the reasons given by those who returned the question sheet reflect two diametrically opposed opinions that we have constantly been getting from the outside. First, that only abnormal individuals will reply; and, second, that only those will reply who have nothing they consider questionable to disclose, and that, therefore, their answers will be too colorless to be valuable.

Ten of those who replied by postcard and 36, or nearly 15 per cent, of those who returned the "sheet," expressed their interest in and approval of the study. This is 9 per cent of the total group who failed to fill in the questionnaires. There was, naturally, little opportunity for expression of opinion of this sort on the postcard.

"Curiosity as to what the questionnaire might contain" is not given by any one as a reason why, having asked for it, the person failed to fill it out and return it.

One can but wonder in how large a percentage of cases of those who failed to reply to the follow-up, also, this was the real reason for the original request.

APPENDIX II

A COMPARISON OF THE QUESTIONNAIRE WITH THE PERSONAL-INTERVIEW METHOD IN RESEARCH INVOLVING MATTERS OF SEX

The fact that on the one hand many books have been written on the social, physical, and mental aspects of life, based on detailed study of comparatively few cases, and on the other hand that much distrust has been indicated as to the reliability of the results obtained by the questionnaire method, led us to ask Dr. Elizabeth E. McCall to undertake the study mentioned in the Introduction, which is based on a combination of the two methods.

In presenting the results of her work we recognize that the number of cases—50—is too small for the application of modern statistical treatment. We felt, however, that a careful consideration of the data might be worth while as showing trends, and therefore arranged that a member of our staff should make the study set forth in this appendix.

Miss Ruth Pointer, who was studying also for her master's degree at Columbia University, had the advice of members of the faculty in working out her procedure, and her completed study was accepted as her master's thesis.

We present here a condensation of the thesis. On account of the small numbers involved, we omit the detailed tables on which her conclusions were based.

Dr. McCall's method consisted in addressing women's clubs in and about Philadelphia, at which she explained the purpose of the investigation and asked for coöperation in the study. Cards were handed out for the signature of those who were willing to fill out the questionnaire and be interviewed. She had hoped to obtain 100 cases, but, this being impracticable in the time available, 50 cases were com-

pleted and reported upon. In order that the material by the two methods might be compared, Dr. McCall used, in addition to the personal interviews, the same questionnaire used by Dr. Davis in her study of 1,000 married women. Dr. McCall had two interviews with each of her subjects, one before or during the filling in of the questionnaire and the other at the completion of the questionnaire.

For the purpose of more accurate comparison of the interview group with the questionnaire group, 50 cases were selected from Dr. Davis's group of 1,000 questionnaires which were as nearly similar as possible to the 50 cases in the interview group. The selection was based upon similarity of age and education as the first consideration, health next, with or without children, gainful employment before marriage, then miscellaneous comparisons such as kind of occupation before marriage, similarity of advanced degrees, number of children, age at marriage, etc. All 50 cases in the interview group were similar in at least age and education to the 50 cases in the questionnaire group. In six cases of each group, age and education was the only basis of similarity; the other 44 cases were matched as similar in other respects in addition to age and education. Thirteen cases in each group were matched on the first four bases of similarity enumerated above.

The tabulations giving the composition of the two groups showed that "the range of ages is from 26 to 53 years, with an average age of 38.3 in both groups; 11 in each group are college graduates, while nine in the I.G.[1] and seven in the Q.G. have less than high-school education. A larger number in the Q.G. were gainfully employed before marriage than in the I.G. (25 I.G. *vs.* 32 Q.G.), although a slightly larger number in the I.G. were in some gainful occupation after marriage (9 I.G. *vs.* 8 Q.G.). The health and marital happiness of both groups are fairly similar; however, two in the Q.G. state that they are definitely unhappy as against none in the I.G. On the whole the two groups are similar in as many ways as possible by this selective process. Wide dissimilarity of response, especially concerning the denial or admission of sex practices prior to marriage, will be made the main criterion for judging reliability of data by the two methods. Such criterion, whether justifiable or not, is based upon the following reasoning:

[1] For brevity the interview group is designated as I.G. while the 50 cases selected from Dr. Davis's 1,000 questionnaires is called the Q.G.

In the evolutionary process civilization, for its own protection, has had to build up certain restraints about the sex instinct which, for the most part, have been in the form of a sense of shame, especially when indulged outside of the legal sanction of marriage. Since sex practices prior to marriage have not the general approval of society, and since the desire for social approval is one of the fundamental motives in human behavior, admitting such a practice constitutes a detrimental confession on the part of the individual and is more likely to be true than a denial of it. In other words, the group admitting the larger number of sex practices is assumed to contain the greater number of honest replies. Other factors which may account for real difference in sex behavior will be commented upon later.

Comparing the number of women in the two groups admitting sex practices, we find that over two and one-half times as many women admit masturbation in the Questionnaire Group as in the Interview Group; twice as many in the former admit sex intercourse prior to marriage, almost twice as many admit sex play, and ten more admit spooning in the Q.G. than in the I.G. (37 *vs.* 27). Spooning is defined in the questionnaire as "hugging, kissing, fondling, bodily exposure, etc." Only in the case of emotional relations with other women does the number of sex practices in the I.G. exceed those in the Q.G.; 5 in the I.G. admit this practice. In some instances the same person admitted several sex practices before marriage, as masturbation, sex play, and sex intercourse.

The average age at marriage is slightly higher in the I.G. than in the Q.G. (24.58 *vs.* 24.16), so that the fewer admissions of sex practices prior to marriage in the I.G. cannot be attributed to earlier age at marriage. Since the education of the two groups is approximately the same, we might tentatively assume the economic and cultural status to be about the same, hence the same opportunities of sublimating these impulses.

In order to determine variations in admissions of sex practices due to sampling, Dr. Davis's Questionnaire Group of 1,000 cases was divided into 20 consecutive groups of 50 cases and figures for sex practices in these groups were taken as norms, or the control group.

A comparison is made of the ranges as well as the averages in the number of these 20 control groups who admit these practices with the interview group and the selected questionnaire group.

In each one of these groups the number of those admitting sex intercourse before marriage is very small.

In the interview group only 2 and in the selected questionnaire

group only 4 women make such an admission, while the average of the 20 control groups is 3.5.

On the other hand, 5 women in the I.G. as against 3 in the Q.G. admit homosexual experiences with physical expression. The average of the 20 control groups is 7.

These numbers are so closely approximate as to suggest that the I.G. and the Q.G. are unselected groups in this respect.

The variation in reply to the question as to masturbation is greater.

A small number only, 9 of the 50 cases in the I.G., make this admission. In the Q.G. of selected 50 there are 23, while the range of admissions in the 20 control groups runs from 11–31, with an average of 19.

Miss Pointer then proceeds to discuss differences in sex mores in different localities which might affect replies, Dr. McCall's group having been a local one, while the questionnaire groups were made up of women from all over the United States. She concludes that they may be a factor. From the small number of cases involved it would appear somewhat of a dangerous conclusion.

For the purpose of evaluating completeness of data, Miss Pointer "selected twenty-five questions of the most intimate sex nature in the questionnaire and classified the replies as Inconsistent, Indefinite, and Irrelevant, Answered with Definite Information, Not Answered, Answers of 'Do not Remember.'" She used the total number of possible replies (50 x 25 = 1,250) if all were answered as 100 per cent and proceeded to score the two groups on each of these points. She discusses the results at considerable length, reaching the conclusion set forth in the summary, page 411.

According to psycho-analytical theory, "a great part of our social and cultural activities are sublimated forms of natural instinctive tendencies which have in the course of education become repressed into the unconscious and forgotten. . . ."

A comparison of how the two groups answered some of the most intimate questions would seem a fair test of the relative

efficiency of the interview and questionnaire methods in overcoming resistance regarding matters peculiarly subject to repression.

One of the questions asked of both groups of women was, "At about what age was the subject of sex first brought to your attention in such a form as to make a permanent impression?" and, "What was the nature of this early information?" Fourteen women in the I.G. stated they did not remember the nature of this impression, and 8 in Q.G. gave this answer. Such replies as, "Do not remember," would seem to be indicative of emotional resistance, and, if this be true, the presence of the investigator imposes a greater inhibiting force in recall of early impressions. The same is true regarding recall of sex feelings in childhood and girlhood; 32 women in the I.G. as against 20 in the Q.G. were unable to recall sex feelings in girlhood. However, there was a much less significant difference in the number who gave definite information as to the nature of this first sex impression—*viz.*, 29 in the I.G. and 33 in the Q.G. With an increased number of interviews this resistance might have been overcome.

It is interesting to note that 75 per cent of the replies of "Do not remember" in the Questionnaire Group were taken from women 40 years of age or over, and 33 per cent in the Interview Group. Thus it seems likely that in the case of those who were not able to remember childhood impressions, time was more of a factor in forgetting in the Q.G. than was emotional resistance. Of those answering definitely as to age at first sex impression, 28.5 per cent of the impressions in the I.G. were received under 10 years of age as against 37.8 per cent in the Q.G. under this age. This seems to be further proof of greater resistance by interview method.

Dr. McCall in her report of investigation states that "difficulty in getting the questionnaire filled came largely from questions in regard to the married relations." Apparently the section on Marriage is the supreme test of frankness or reserve. Miss Pointer chose ten of the most intimate questions in this section for comparison of how the two groups answered. The questions were as follows:

1. Were you attracted or repelled by the manner in which married sex relations came into your experience?
2. Have you found your married relations pleasurable, neutral, or distasteful (in earliest period)?
3. On an average how frequently has sex intercourse taken place between you and your husband (during early years of marriage)?

4. How has the frequency of your desire for sex intercourse compared with that of your husband, especially during the first few years of marriage?
5. Can you compare your sex impulses and satisfactions in degree of intensity with those of your husband?
6. Have you at any time for any reason been led to use measures for the prevention of pregnancy?
7. Had you been at all adequately prepared by instruction for the sex side of marriage?
8. During your married life have you felt any temptation toward sex relations with men other than your husband?
9. Have you had dreams that were frankly sexual in character?
10. What, if anything, came to you as a surprise or shock (in the marital relation)?

Of the 500 total possible replies (10 x 50) to these ten questions in each group, 472 in the I.G. were answered with definite information as against 456 definite replies in the Q.G.; there were 11 unanswered replies to these questions in the I.G. *vs.* 23 in the Q.G. Thus if quantity of replies is indicative of degree of frankness, the I.G. expressed greater frankness in regard to their married relations.

It is interesting to note that of the 472 replies with definite information in the I.G., 51 were written in by Dr. McCall at the interview after further questioning the subject; thus only 421 replies with definite information were written by the interview subjects themselves as against 456 definite replies written by the women of the Q.G. This difference of 35 replies (456-421) would seem to be a measure of the resistance imposed by the first interview which was overcome by the second visit. Thus we are led to believe that more interviews might have brought more successful results.

The quality of response to these ten questions is as follows: The greater number of women in the questionnaire group stated that they:

1. Were attracted by the manner in which married sex relations came into their experience: 27 Q.G. *vs.* 21 I.G.
2. Had pleasurable reaction to sex relations throughout married life: 34 Q.G. *vs.* 32 I. G. early period; 32 Q.G. *vs.* 30 I.G. middle period; 25 Q.G. *vs.* 24 I.G. later period.
3. Had more frequent sex relations during married life: 27 A.G. *vs.* 25 I.G.—frequency in early years more than twice a week; 29 Q.G. *vs.* 28 I.G.—frequency in later years once or more a week.
4. Their desire for sex intercourse was more frequent than husbands': 4 Q.G. *vs.* 1 I.G.

5. Their sex impulse and degree of satisfaction was more intense than husbands': 4 Q.G. *vs.* 1 I.G.
6. Used contraceptive measures: 39 Q.G. *vs.* 34 I.G. (fewer in Q.G. stated they proved successful).
7. Had been adequately prepared by instruction for the sex life of marriage: 50 Q.G. *vs.* 49 I.G.
8. Had temptations toward sex relations with men other than husband: 8 Q.G. *vs.* 0 I.G.
9. Had dreams that were frankly sexual: 27 Q.G. *vs.* 17 I.G.
10. A larger number of women in I.G. stated that nothing came to them as a surprise or shock at initial marital relations: 25 I.G. *vs.* 8 Q.G.

From the above responses it would seem that either marital sex relations play a more important part in the lives of the women in the Q.G., or else they are more frank in admitting this. If the latter be true, another point is gained in favor of the anonymous questionnaire method.

In seeking other criteria of estimating degree of frankness by the two methods, the writer, after careful perusal of all the cases in both groups, selected the case in each group which seemed to manifest the greatest amount of frankness. These two case histories, with details included, were submitted to the judgment of three psychologists, one woman and two men, none of whom knew by which method the cases had been investigated. Two of the psychologists stated they could see no real difference in amount of frankness in the two cases. The other psychologist conceded the small difference he could detect in favor of the case by interview method. Obviously, two cases is not a sufficient number upon which to attach any importance to results.

Efficiency in securing participation in the studies by the two methods is a further consideration. Since the total number to whom the appeal was made is not available in the interview investigation, the percentage of returns by the two methods has been based upon the number of people expressing an interest in the investigation as indicated by the number of cards signed or requests made for interviews or questionnaires. In this comparison the small Questionnaire Group of 50 is identified with Dr. Davis's large Questionnaire Group of 1,000 married women, the former being a part of the latter.

Of the 150 cards signed or requests made for personal interviews, 99 failed to coöperate, while 51 interviews were completed for the study; in the large Questionnaire Group, of the 3,333 cards signed expressing interest in participating, 1,073 actually participated in the study.

Expressed in percentages, the personal interview method brought a return of 34 per cent, and the questionnaire 32.2 per cent, or a differ-

ence of 1.8 per cent. This difference is not large enough to be significant.

In evaluating the two methods of investigation, it is important to determine just what the interviewer contributed that is not attainable by questionnaire alone. To each interview questionnaire Dr. McCall attached a yellow sheet containing comments on the individual case interviewed.

A classification of the items included in these comments shows that all could have been secured by the questionnaire itself except the interviewer's own estimate of the personality of the subject, her children, her environment, etc.

This raises the question whether the interviewer's estimate is any more accurate than would be the subject's own estimate on these points which she could give by questionnaire.

Miss Pointer then discusses this question in the light of the opinions of various writers[1] and is inclined to agree with the view presented by Peck and Wells in their article on "Psycho-Sexuality of College Graduate Men":

"The questionnaire method in some form or other is the only practicable approach to the question at present. The essential issue is the reliability of the response to the questionnaire. Some of the questions involved here are predominantly objective, others subjective. Here a valid answer depends upon the subject's ability to analyze his own mental processes. This is a difficult enough matter apart from the prejudices involved in the attitude toward sex. The writer's opinion, based upon both observation of the individuals and examination of the data, is that the objective answers in this material can be taken at not far off their face value; the subjective answers must be taken with more reservations and their meaning is often indirect."

Dr. G. V. Hamilton has just completed a study in which he used an excellent combination of questionnaire, personal interview, and psycho-analytical method in his investigation to discover the causes of unhappiness in married life. The investigation involved the usual explanation of the purpose of the study, importance of frankness and honesty in replies, the confidential treatment of the information, complete loss of identity, etc. The procedure was carefully standardized;

[1] Cattell, *American Men of Science.* Hollingsworth, *Judging Human Character.* Ernest Jones, *Psycho-Analysis.* Cyril Burt, *The Young Delinquent.* Whately-Smith, *The Measurement of the Emotions.* Peck and Wells, "Psycho-Sexuality of College Graduate Men," *Mental Hygiene,* October, 1923. Peck and Wells, "Further Studies in Psycho-Sexuality," *Mental Hygiene,* July, 1925.

the subject was interviewed in Dr. Hamilton's office, where the attendant circumstances were the same in all cases, even to the exact position of the chair in which the subject sat in relation to Dr. Hamilton's chair and desk. The questionnaire consisted of one or more questions on a series of cards which were handed one at a time to the subject and which he read and answered orally as Dr. Hamilton jotted down notes on the replies.

The order of presentation of the cards was carefully arranged so as to effect the best psychological approach to matters of a more intimate sex nature. Cards were used instead of direct questions from the investigator in order to eliminate the possibility of influencing replies by the manner in which the question was asked, and also to provide the same conditions for each case. Dr. Hamilton's attitude was as objective as possible, with no comment or emotional reaction to whatever hidden secrets may have been disclosed; he was silent through the interview except to answer questions or clear up misunderstandings from the written questions. Each interview covered a period of one hour, and the total length of time spent upon each case varied from three to thirty hours, depending upon the time required for "transference" to take place, and for the unburdening of all that the subject wished to say. A large proportion of the cases were college graduate men and women who were seeking a better adjustment to their own marital difficulties and consequently were glad for the opportunity of coöperating in the study.

A possible objection to this method is its impracticability for application to a large number of cases. The study, including 200 cases, has required four years for completion, involving a large expense. It was undertaken in the hope that the work would result in more complete and reliable data than had heretofore been obtained, as well as a demonstration of the value of a method. His report has appeared in book form.

Summary

I. *Reliability.*—"It is impossible, owing to the small number of cases in Dr. McCall's group, to determine absolute reliability of data obtained by either the questionnaire or interview method of investigation. However, since both groups were chosen similar in as many respects as possible, fairly similar sex behavior is assumed. Since sex practices prior to marriage have not social approval, admission of such practices is more likely to be true than denial of them; hence the group admitting the greater num-

ber of sex practices is assumed to contain the more honest reliable replies.

"Upon this assumption, if it be justifiable:

(a) The questionnaire method is more reliable on the basis of the larger number of admissions of sex practices among this group; admission of masturbation, 9 I.G. *vs.* 23 Q.G.; also a higher number in Q.G. admit sex play, sex intercourse (before marriage), and spooning. Thirty-six I.G. and 23 Q.G. deny any of these practices. When the large group of 1,000 questionnaires were divided into 20 groups of 50 each, the number of admissions of masturbation in the I.G.—*viz.*, 9—fell below the total range of admissions of masturbation in the 20 groups. The range in the 20 groups was 11 to 31, with an average of 19. A real difference in mores due to geographical selection may also account for the difference in sex behavior, since the women of the I.G. were chosen from communities in and about Philadelphia, while the Q.G. were chosen from different parts of the United States; however, both groups were of the college graduate and women's club type.

(b) The interview method is more reliable on the basis of fewer numbers of inconsistent replies in this group—6 per cent I.G. *vs.* 9 per cent Q.G., or a ratio of 1 to 1.4. However, ill-defined questions due to the fault of the questionnaire itself may have accounted for some of these inconsistencies, and the numbers involved are too small to mean more than a possibility.

II. *Frankness.*—"The interview method scores higher in degree of frankness on the basis of:

(a) Fewer numbers of indefinite and irrelevant replies in this group—3.5 per cent I.G. *vs.* 4.2 per cent Q.G.

(b) Larger number of answers with definite information in regard to marriage relationships in the I.G.—472 I.G. *vs.* 456 Q.G.; however, 51 of the 471 answers in the I.G. were written in by the interviewer after the subject had filled out the interview questionnaire. Since the section on

marriage relationships seemed to create the greatest amount of emotional resistance, this section offers a real test of frankness.

"Judging by quality of response to the questions on marital relations, the Q.G. appear to be more frank in admitting the more important rôle that the marital sex relations play in their lives.

III. *Completeness of Data.*—"Slightly more answers with definite information (to the main questions of the entire investigation) were secured by interview method. Eighty-seven and seven-tenths per cent of the total replies were answered with definite information in the I.G. *vs.* 85.7 per cent in the Q.G. The percentage difference is too small for any definite conclusion.

IV. *Childhood Memories.*—"Slightly more information relative to childhood impressions and feelings was secured by questionnaire method. Twenty-nine in the I.G. *vs.* 33 in the Q.G. answered with definite information as to the nature of their first sex impression. Fourteen I.G. *vs.* 8 Q.G. stated, 'Do not remember' *re.* first sex impression; 32 I.G. *vs.* 20 Q.G. stated 'Do not remember' *re.* sex feelings.

"Seventy-five per cent of the replies of 'Do not remember' in the Q.G. were from women over 40 years of age, while 33 per cent in the I.G. were from women over that age. This would suggest that time might be more of a factor in forgetting in the Q.G., and emotional resistance (due to the presence of the interviewer) a factor in forgetting in the I.G.

V. *Anonymity.*—"Twelve of the 99 women who failed to cooperate (reasons 4 and 11) and who were unwilling to have a personal interview stated they would be willing to fill out an anonymous questionnaire and mail to the Bureau. Two of the women who coöperated in the interview study stated they would have destroyed the questionnaire unfilled if it had come to them by mail. While anonymity of the questionnaire method may have distinct advantage over the interview method, yet if follow-up of individual cases is desirable, the anonymity of the former method renders a follow-up investigation impossible except where general questions are applied to the whole group.

VI. *Efficiency in Securing Participation in the Study.*—"The interview method brought a slightly higher percentage return than the questionnaire method. Of the total 150 women expressing an interest in coöperating in the interview study, 34 per cent actually coöperated. Of the total 3,333 women expressing an interest in coöperating in the large questionnaire study, 32.2 per cent actually coöperated. However, the difference in percentage is too small to be significant.

VII. *The Interviewer's Contribution.*—"It is questionable whether in this particular study the interviewer contributed any definite reliable data not attainable by a questionnaire alone. The type of information secured by the interviewer which was not included in the questionnaire was: information relating to the personality of the subject, her interests, environment, upbringing, and other emotional history not included in the questionnaire; subject's reaction to the questionnaire, the interviewer's method of procedure; characteristics relating to the subject's husband and children; and miscellaneous opinions, etc. Obviously most of this information could be included in the ideal questionnaire, except the interviewer's own judgment of the personality of the subject and her family, based on personal contact. However, according to Cattell's *Experimental Study of Self-Analysis and Estimates of Associates,* the interviewer's estimate of character traits is liable to be less accurate than the subject's estimate of her own personality traits, which could be included in the questionnaire investigation. Furthermore, the questionnaire investigator may also form her judgment of the personality of the subject by the total content of the filled-in questionnaire.

"The interviewer may be able to detect dishonesty by cross-questioning and noting general emotional reactions on the part of the subject; however, such dishonesty would probably be difficult to prove. Doubtless the personality of the interviewer does make a contribution to the investigation, but such contribution is difficult or impossible to measure."

VIII. Such evaluation of the two methods of obtaining in-

timate data as were available may be summarized in the words of Peck and Wells:[1] "The objective answers can be taken not far off their face value, but the subjective answers must be taken with more reservation."

IX. "The Hamiltonian method of investigation, which combines the questionnaire, personal interview, and psycho-analytical method, appears to give promise of being a more reliable method of sex investigation than the ordinary personal interview method or the questionnaire."

[1] "Psycho-Sexuality of College Graduate Men," *Mental Hygiene,* October, 1923.

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